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**REVIEW**

OF

**THE REV. JARED SPARKS'**

**LETTERS**

ON THE

**PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,**

**In reply to**

**THE REV. DR. WYATT'S SERMON.**

*By John D. Toy, Printer.*

(FROM THE "CHRISTIAN DISCIPLE," PUBLISHED AT BOSTON.)

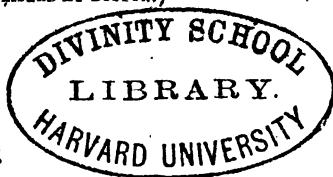
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## REVIEW.

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*A Sermon, exhibiting some of the principal doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, by which that Church is distinguished from other denominations of Christians; by WILLIAM EDWARD WYATT, A. M. Associate Minister of St. Paul's parish, and professor of Theology in the University of Maryland. Baltimore. Joseph Robinson. pp. 44.*

*Letters on the ministry, ritual, and doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church; addressed to the Rev. Wm E. Wyatt, D. D. Associate Minister of St. Paul's parish, Baltimore, and Professor of Theology in the University of Maryland; in reply to "a Sermon exhibiting some of the principal doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States;" by JARED SPARKS, A. M. Minister of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. Baltimore. N. G. Maxwell. pp. 268.*

SINCE Episcopacy sustained in 1763, the formidable assault of Dr. Mayhew, and to shield it, the rector of Cambridge and the archbishop of Canterbury interposed alike in vain, it has made no progress among us, such as could be satisfactory to its friends. The writings of that admirable man gave the alarm through New-England, and awoke the old congregational spirit. The measures of the English society\*

\* Our readers are aware that the writings of Dr. Mayhew referred to, were occasioned by the society established under king William, "for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts," having engaged in proselyting operations in New-England.

were disconcerted; and it was fain to turn again to the new settlers and the Indians, and leave the descendants of puritans to take care of themselves. The revolution succeeding, of course did the cause of the English establishment no good; and the most important incident in its history, among us, since that time, is the separation from it, and open avowal of Unitarian sentiments, of one of the principal churches in its communion.

In other parts of the country it has been different. In New-York, the rich endowment of Trinity, and of late, the exertions of an active individual, have given a currency to Episcopal peculiarities, and the church has pursued her course with no tardy pace, toward the savage frontier of the state. In Virginia the generation of clergy, who, as bishop White, with beautiful simplicity relates, "continued to enjoy their glebes, without performing a single act of religious duty, except, perhaps, that of marriage,"\* in course of time was extinct, and, under the auspices of bishop Moore, a somewhat better day is understood to have begun. In Maryland, it was not surprising, that pursued by the Catholics on the one side, and the Methodists on the other, many should be glad to find shelter in an establishment, in which superstition assumes a less repulsive shape, and discipline and pomp do something to keep out fanaticism. In Connecticut, the abuse of spiritual power has created opposition, which has placed itself, as every wise political opposition will, under that organization which will make it most effective. Almost everywhere the church has been aided by the general prevalence of the spirit of inquiry, re-acting on those who do not feel this spirit. Encouraged as it is in the work of God, it is resisted by the indifference of most men on the subject of religion. Their dislike of trouble

\* Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church. p. 59.

they call love of peace; and when they are told that the articles of faith are but articles of union, that though the church seems authoritative and precise, yet after all, the church means nothing; and if they will not contradict, they may believe any thing, or not believe any thing, just as they will,—they are satisfied that the church is the place for them. From these causes, among others, it is no longer the insignificant body that it was, when nine clergymen and four laymen met in New-Brunswick, in 1784, and projected an American Episcopate. Bishop Hobart's visitations, we are told, are to more than an hundred parishes, and bishop Kemp's to nearly as many.\*

It is characteristic of this church, that its pretensions have always risen with its power. In England, a man cannot carry a pair of colours, till he has taken the sacrament according to the forms of the national church; nor can a dissenting clergyman solemnize a marriage. Among us, the clergy and members of this communion have always been regarded with a well-deserved respect and good-will, which, as yet, they have not endangered by challenging more. They have stood on the same ground with other denominations, recommending themselves by orderly Christian worship, and good Christian practice; but we suppose not one in an hundred of our readers ever heard the plea urged, of an exclusive right to the discharge of the sacred office being vested in their ministry. In the powerful diocess of Maryland, it seems, it is otherwise; and the readers of Dr. Wyatt's sermon in this age of sober sense and theological learning, have the trial appointed to them, of reading "that to the order of bishops alone, belongs the power of ordaining ministers; and that an ordination performed by the

[ \* There is much reason to believe, that in regard to the numbers mentioned in this place, the reviewer is under a mistake. From a list published the present year, it appears, that in the diocess of New-York there are only sixty-six preachers, several of whom are missionaries, and in that of Maryland, number is forty-eight.]

hands of a *priest*, deacon, or layman, or by any number of either, would be devoid of every degree of validity and efficacy, in conferring spiritual office and power." It is this lofty claim, which declares the most religious part of the country to be almost without a ministry, that makes the matter of the controversy. We, on our parts, make no objection to a clergyman that he has been ordained by a bishop, and wears a surplice; nor would we complain much though he should kneel at the communion, and make the sign of the cross in baptism. But according to the writer, one to whom the instructions and ordinances of religion are dispensed by a minister, who has sustained and discharges his office after a different manner, would as well, or better, not receive them at all. It is this arrogant pretension to a superior and exclusive official right that we repel, and not the claim of churchmen to possess a regularly constituted ministry. We are content that their candidates for the sacred office should be ordained by one minister, though we would rather it should be by three or four. We are not for a similar concession.

In this sermon of Dr. Wyatt, he is seen in so amenable a light, that we sympathize with him for having published it. It will do probably no good to the cause, and certainly none to his reputation. He appears in it (and except from this discourse we have no means of judging) to be a mild and conscientious man; and were it not, that we think it ought to be more considered than it is, that none but the well educated should undertake to guide the public mind on such subjects, we would not say, that we do not expect to have seen a composition in such bad English, by an author who could affix to his name the insignia of a second degree in the arts. A sermon preached, deserves all indulgence. A controversial sermon printed, claims none.

The work of Mr. Sparks is the best which has appeared in this country, since the time of Chauncy,

the episcopal controversy. He had the advantage over Dr. Miller in not writing in Presbyterian fetters, and in possessing a learning, possibly not so various, (for he is a much younger man.) but far better digested, more systematic, and accurate. The cause of letters owes much to this gentleman, and if it had not surrendered him to higher claims, would yet hope much more. In his removal, the University resigned a member on whose reputation and services it set a high value, and it was felt like the loss of a distinguished freeman to the literary republic of the east. Under his direction, the North American Review made great progress towards that reputation, which has enabled it at last, (in conjunction with other publications to the same end,) to lower the tone of our trans-atlantic traducers, and to give itself no mean proof of the intellectual advances which it vindicates. From this flattering path to a wide reputation, and from the pursuit of favourite studies, he hesitated not to withdraw himself to the service of religion, and went with, to say the least, no elating prospects, to preach in a new field, the doctrines of uncorrupt Christianity. It is not therefore for the cause alone,—a little of personal feeling may excuseably have place,—that we are grateful for the issue of his exertions. Such has been their success, and the power and progress of just religious views, that in little more than a year since his ordination, the society is relieved from heavy pecuniary embarrassments; the odium which existed against it, has sensibly subsided; and it is now as respectable in point of numbers, as it is memorable for the stand it took in support of Christian liberty and truth. Unless we grossly miscalculate the impression which this work will produce, we shall think the exertions made to collect and establish that society, well requited by its having given rise to such a publication.

In his first letter, *on the ministry of the Episcopal church*, Mr. Sparks controverts the assumption, that “the Episcopal is the only true church; that its minis-

try originated with the apostles, and has descended down to the present time through an unbroken and divinely protected succession; and, that ordinations, performed by any other persons than bishops, are devoid of every degree of validity and efficacy in conferring spiritual office and power." He appeals, in the first place, to the scripture evidence, and concludes his examination with the following statement.

"*First*, our Saviour left no instructions in regard to the nature or form of the ministry; he never spoke of three orders, or any number of orders; he gave no directions about the ceremony of ordination, nor did he assign the duty of performing it to any particular class of men. *Secondly*, the apostles said nothing of any number of orders in the ministry, nor have they left any rules or instructions on the subject of ordination. *Thirdly*, the first church at Jerusalem was governed by the apostles, elders, and brethren in concert. The apostles assumed no authority above the elders, nor the elders above the people. *Fourthly*, it is nowhere said in the whole New Testament, that the duty of conferring ordination was confined to any particular order of the ministry; but on the contrary, several examples are on record, which go to prove, that this ceremony was performed by any officer or officers of regular standing in the church. *Fifthly*, Timothy and Titus are never called bishops. Timothy is expressly called an *evangelist*; and the duties of Titus were such, as are usually assigned to an evangelist. *Sixthly*, the persons who were appointed by the apostles to assist in providing for the poor, and whom you call the 'seven deacons,' are never designated by this name in the scriptures. Their office was wholly of a temporal nature, and therefore could make no part of the ministry. *Seventhly*, the word *deacon* seems to have been applied at first as a general term, for a servant in the cause of the gospel, a minister, or teacher; and if it was afterwards appropriated to any particular office, no mention is made in the writings of the

apostles respecting the nature or design of such an office. No instance is recorded, in which deacons, as officers of an exclusive character, are said to have taken a part in the government or concerns of any church. *Lastly*, the same reasons, by which you establish three orders in the ministry, would prove the existence of at least six or seven, as apostles, bishops, prophets, evangelists, elders, teachers, deacons." pp. 24—26.

One would think this were enough for a Protestant. But Mr. Sparks is too fair a disputant, and moreover defends too impregnable ground, not to be willing to allow every advantage to his adversary. He accordingly refers to Episcopal "fondness for the ancient fathers," so far as to go into an examination of their testimony, of which he gives the following summary.

"I have thus gone through with a patient examination of the evidence, on which the episcopal church advances its singular pretensions to a divine origin and succession. In the scriptures I have found nothing, either in the commands of our Saviour, or of the apostles, which can justify any class of men in assuming to themselves the claim of being the only true Church.

"A similar result has followed from the testimony of the Fathers, and the history of the English reformation. *First*, it can be indisputably proved from the Fathers, that the churches in the primitive ages were not uniformly governed by three orders of ministry; but frequently by two, and sometimes by one. *Secondly*, bishops were parochial clergymen, in many places at least, and nothing more. *Thirdly*, ordinations were performed by presbyters, especially in the case of Irenæus, and for a long time in the church at Alexandria. *Fourthly*, no particular account can be given of the origin of the church of Rome, or of its first seven bishops. *Fifthly*, the power of the English clergy is confessedly derived from the king, and not from any church. *Sixthly*, the informality of ordination in the English church was such, in the



opinion of the Catholics, who are supposed to constitute the true church, as to destroy all power, that might be transmitted by the episcopal succession. *Seventhly*, English bishops were at an early period consecrated by presbyters, and at a much later period, ordination by presbyters was considered valid. *Finally*, the consecration of archbishop Parker, who was the beginning of the succession since his time both to English and American bishops, was declared, and is still considered by the Catholics, invalid, and was at best of a very suspicious and doubtful character." pp. 45, 46.

We see not, how the arguments in this letter can fail to appear to any impartial person, decisively of the question. For our own parts, until some important error in them is pointed out,—which we apprehend cannot be,—we shall be quite content to have our ordination as regular as that of Barnabas and Paul, who were ordained by "certain prophets and teachers at Antioch.\*

It seems to us, that there are not many things in church history which less admit of dispute, than the rise and establishment of episcopacy. The New Testament gives no hint of such a division of orders in the priesthood, that every person who assumes it must enter it either in a superior or subordinate capacity, nor does there any where appear to have been any other distinction among the early preachers of the faith, ex-

\* We suggest to Mr. Sparks an argument, on which, in another edition, it might be well to enlarge. The authority to which the English church pretends, it claims to have received from the Romish. Now the power which makes, can unmake, and unless we mistake, the whole English hierarchy is yearly declared by the pope excommunicate. At any rate the consecration of archbishop Parker, to whom the English line is traced, was formally declared to be irregular and invalid. The arguments, therefore, by which the English clergy seek to prove that authority in the Romish church to which they refer their own, these self-same arguments, if they have any weight, prove the English clergy to be no priests, disowned as they are by the very power by which they claim to have been created.

cept what grew out of peculiar gifts, or out of circumstances, implying a peculiar fitness, and therefore authority, to teach, such as having been the immediate associate of our Lord or his apostles. The early preachers of our faith adopted the course which men of good sense, not to say men divinely inspired, might be expected to adopt. Wherever they formed a society of christians, they would naturally retain the instruction of the flock they had gathered, or if they left it, in pursuance of their commission to preach the gospel to all nations, their opinion would naturally be regarded in the selection of the person who should have charge of it, and the imposition of their hands with prayer, would seem an appropriate and solemn way of separating him to his office. As the number of christians in a place increased, convenience would demand the forming of new societies, and the head of the parent congregation might be expected to induct a new teacher, with formalities similar to those with which the first messenger introduced him. So far all would be obviously rational, and no more than we might expect would take place. But the idea that after the age of miracles, any, by right of being successors to the apostles in the highest order of the priesthood, could convey an authority resting solely with them to confer, is an invention of later times. It is not difficult to see how it originated, for it is no secret how early worldly passions began to nestle in the bosom of the church.\* As congregations multiplied in a neighbourhood, the first who had brought the faith into it, or the first who had exercised a stated ministry, came to be regarded with a peculiar respect. Greater age, or superior rank, learning, or virtue, would elevate others above their associates; and humble as most of the early christians were, and difficult and dangerous as was the situation of all, distinction would be a demand for severer duty on one side, and

\* "I wrote unto the church; but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, received us not." 3 John, v. 9.

the necessity of protection would lead to cheerful submission on the other. They who assumed the post of danger, claimed for their reward, or for the benefit of the rest, from selfishness, or from the apparent necessity of the case, that it should be also the post of dignity and rule; and while as yet distinction only gave a better chance of martyrdom, when there was no pomp to attract the ambitious, nor patronage to excite the worldly, there was no reason for contesting the claim, and whether formally or tacitly, it was readily allowed. When the church formed an alliance with the state, another condition of things succeeded. The gradations which the universal temporary expediency had created, were for private advantage made permanent, and defended as such on the ground of right; and what had been but precedence in duty, trust, and danger, came to be claimed as superiority of office. Till a comparatively late period, however, the Romish, the most powerful church, can alone be considered as properly episcopal. The government of the Alexandrian approached near to the presbyterian form, and that of the church of Carthage to the congregational. Considering how early the christians became an important, though still an oppressed body, and how deeply-rooted and all-embracing a passion is the love of power, we are only surprised, that a system like the episcopal was not earlier organized. From that period, the history of episcopacy, is the history of Romish usurpation.\*

\* Doddridge's sensible and candid account of the rise and establishment of episcopacy may be seen, vol. ii. p. 352 of his Lectures. That of Jerome about the beginning of the 5th century, is this; "Till through the instinct of the devil there grew in the church factions, and among the people it began to be professed, I am of Paul; I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas, churches were governed by the common advice of presbyters: but when every one began to reckon those whom himself had baptized, his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world, that one, chosen out of the presbyters, should be placed over the rest, to whom all care of the church should belong, and so the seeds of schism be removed." To explain this simple historical statement in accordance with his

We shall be asked how an institution, so pregnant with danger to the liberty of christians, was able, unless founded on scriptural authority, to survive the protestant reformation. The question is easily solved. The work of the reformation was of a magnitude and difficulty, of which at this period we are hardly able to form a tolerably just conception. Nothing less was to be done than to overturn the most dearly cherished prejudices of men, on a subject, which the sense of ages had declared it sacrilege to scrutinize. It was not to be expected that the *first* inquiries, bold as they were, should reach the conclusions of the *last*; that the first struggles of minds trained into deformity and feebleness by the worse than Chinese distortions of a Romish discipline, should show the vigour of a healthy growth. Rear an infant in manacles, he will be a cripple, though he be freed from them, when he becomes a man. There were abuses of more pressing enormity than this, which claimed the first attention of an awakened age. The papal was so galling a yoke, that the weight of the episcopal was scarcely felt; and bad as were the simoniacal practices of the time, they were not to be thought of, till a more crying sin, the

own views, the bishop of Lincoln, (*Elements of Theology*, ii. 391,) employs the very hypothesis which the statement is made to discountenance. He argues that Jerome must have spoken in this passage of apostolic times, "because in another part of the same work he tells us, that James was made bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles, Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus bishop of Crete, by St. Paul, and Polycarp bishop of Smyrna by St. John." If Jerome spoke here, as he is represented to have spoken, of diocesan and not parochial bishops, what churches in Ephesus and Crete, we would gladly learn, were those, which, before Timothy and Titus were sent to them, were "governed by the common advice of presbyters?" and in what part of the Acts of the Apostles is an account, or in what part of the epistles a hint given of the passing of that decree, according to which this writer would have it, that Timothy and Titus were made diocesan bishops, passed as his hypothesis supposes it to have been, within the period to which the New Testament history relates. Were scripture, and all antiquity beside, silent on the subject, the writings of Jerome alone would prove the episcopal government to be an usurpation.

sale of indulgences, was stifled. We ought not to be surprised (if it were only on this ground) that the pretensions of the episcopate were no earlier contested. But further; the best reformers, and those who saw this subject in its true light, were wise men; wise enough to know that the whole is often best secured by claiming at first only a part, and one design effected, and another put in a happy train by forbearance, when impatience would frustrate both. They did not care to expose such an enterprise as theirs to ill-timed risk, by disgusting any of its adherents, who, in the case of an amalgamation of orders, would lose the rank and revenues of princes. They did not forget, that in the gowned hosts of Rome, they had aggressors, with whom such an organization as that of the hierarchy would enable them the better to contend; and as prudent men are wont to do in seasons of alarm, they resigned a portion of their rightful privileges to buy security for the rest. Perhaps some might even fear that the zeal for change would grow with the multitude as it was gratified, and so might prefer rather to endure some of what seemed to them the more tolerable abuses, than take the hazard of indulging a spirit which it might be difficult to check.

This would be explanation sufficient, if only pious and learned men had had the direction in those measures, which, taken altogether, are called the reformation in England. But we are not to forget that many were concerned in them, of whom learning is little predicable, and piety still less. Episcopacy, acquiesced in for a time by one description of men for reasons of expediency, was protected by another for reasons of state. The chief excellence which Henry VIII. saw in the opposition to the supremacy of the pope, was its transferring that supremacy from the pope to himself, and monopolizing as he was, it would have little met his views, to resign the power of giving away mitres, palaces, and stalls. Queen Elizabeth, it is well known, reproached herself for having given

so much aid to the reformation:\* and her pedant cousin, though he had declared to his Scottish parliament, that "he minded not to bring in Papistical or Anglicane bishops," had learned five years after, at the conference at Hampton court, to utter with the positiveness of an oracle, and the emphasis of a monarch, the maxim, *no bishop, no king*. This maxim uttered by the source of all law, it was no safe thing, in touching the lawn, virtually to assail the crown; and willing as the reformers might be to be martyrs, it was less creditable at least, to go to the gallows for high treason, than to the stake for denying the real presence. Thus the episcopal power rested too firmly on the civil for plebeian hands to raze it. It still stands on the foundation of the lords and commons of England, queen Elizabeth and lord chancellor Hyde being the chief corner stones.

These things considered, it is really matter of surprise that just views of this abuse were so early entertained, and to such extent; and that so considerable efforts were made to correct it. That first and most illustrious reformer Wickliffe, denied the distinction of priest and bishop. "One thing," says he, "I boldly assert, that in the primitive church, two orders of clergy were thought sufficient, viz. priest and deacon; and I do also say that in the time of Paul, a priest and a bishop were one and the same; for in those times the distinct orders of pope, cardinals, patriarchs, arch-

\* Neale says (Hist. of Puritans, i. 192.) that except by the English language, the service in her chapel could not be distinguished from the popish. One of her chaplains on Good Friday spoke in favour of the real presence, and she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety. The dean of St. Pauls, in a sermon at court, spoke with dislike of the sign of the cross, and she bid him desist from that ungodly digression, and return to his text. (Do. i. 206.) She "loved magnificence in religion," says Burnet "as she affected it in all other things. This made her inclined to keep images still in churches, and that the Popish party might be offended as little as was possible, she intended to have the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament defined in general terms, that might comprehend all sides." (Hist. Reform. Abr. p. 534.)

bishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, and deans were not invented." To the 10th of the questions proposed by Henry VIII. to his prelates, *whether bishops or priests were first*, the archbishop of Canterbury replies; "the bishops and priests were at one time and were no two things; but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion;" and others of his coadjutors agree with him in sense. The king's book\* declares "of these two orders only, that is to say, priests and deacons, scripture maketh express mention, and how they were conferred by the apostles by prayer and imposition of hands." The pretension to a divine right of episcopacy seems indeed to have been first started in England by Dr. Bancroft, in 1588. The doctrine was then so new even to high churchmen, that Whitgift,† than whom no man was more tenacious of church authority, said he rather wished than believed it to be true. Archbishop Usher, bishop Burnet, and indeed most of the more learned and moderate reformers, from the beginning of the reformation till the final check was put to it under Charles II. either denied or doubted the distinction between the orders of bishop and priest. What is very remarkable is, that in the very articles of that church, which now asserts this distinction of orders to be so vital to its constitution, this distinction is entirely overlooked in that part‡ which treats of the institution

\* This book was published in 1543, and was entitled; "A necessary erudition for a christian man." It was drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines, and was afterwards read and approved by the lords spiritual and temporal and the lower house of parliament, and corrected by the king's own hand. (Neale's Hist. i. 79.)

† Says Whitgift, as quoted by How against Miller, p. 46; "There is no certain form of church government or discipline prescribed to the church, but the same may be altered as the profit of the churches requires. I do deny that the scriptures do set down any one certain kind of government in the church to be perpetual for all times, places and persons, without alteration."

‡ The article, Art. 23d, runs thus; "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and

of ministers to their office, so doubtful a thing was the permanency of the existing organization thought to be. The divine right, (said Mr. Henderson in 1646, to the king, in the name of the clergy of Britain) "was not pleaded till of late by some few;" and in that year the hierarchy was abolished by act of parliament, the same authority by which it is now upheld. The christian liberty, thus recovered for a little season in England, had amidst the deluge of Romish impiety, been preserved, as in an ark, in the vallies of Piedmont, by a faithful sect, the Waldenses, who from the time of pope Sylvester, A. D. 316, at the latest, are known as a distinct community, and perhaps existed as such from the time of the apostles. It may appear from what we have stated, how singularly inaccurate is the assertion of Dr. Wyatt, in the sense which he attaches to the words *authorized ministry*, that "through the darkest days of the christian church, while so many other tenets became perverted or disguised, few ventured to assail, and none succeeded in setting aside, the authorized ministry of the church of Christ."

But another question will occur. Granting, it will be said, with the best of the early reformers, with the most judicious writers of later times in the English communion, such, for example, as King,\* Chillingworth, Hoadly, Hammond, Paley,† Prettyman and

sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."

Such a studied indistinctness on a matter of such moment speaks for itself. How it appeared to one qualified in every respect to judge, may be inferred from the remark of Burnet, as quoted by Tomline, ii. 379, "They left this matter open and at large for such accidents as have happened, and such as might still happen."

\* By some inadvertency the inquiry into the constitution of the primitive church is ascribed in Mr. Sparks's work to archbishop King. The author was *the chancellor*, Sir Peter King.

† Paley reasons in favour of episcopacy, that it promotes good order, affords to men of all ranks religious instructors on a level



Locke, and (as we suppose we may be permitted to say) with the mass of churchmen in this country, that episcopacy is not a divine institution, why should we not also agree with them, that it ought to be acquiesced in and vindicated as conducive to religious order? \* This question deserves a fair consideration; for whatever form of church polity will best protect and give efficacy to religious institutions, has a claim to the preference and support of christians.

Admitting, for the sake of the argument, that the system of ecclesiastical polity existing in the church of England, is of the wisest contrivance, there are other considerations to be attended to, before any one can attach himself to its communion. It is not recommendation sufficient to a society, that its government is so constructed as to be powerful, unless the laws are also good and well administered; and let a man be ever so well satisfied, that the structure of a church government is such as to make it efficient, it still remains for his consideration, whether this is not overbalanced by its being oppressively exercised. If tests contrary to liberty of conscience are imposed, if assent to false articles of faith is exacted, or even if the authorized form of worship involves doctrines disbelieved or disputed, if it tends to superstition, or does not tend in the highest degree to edification, the government strong enough to protect such abuses is only the more to be avoided and condemned. To him who believes that it makes undue claims, it is a despotism; and he is bound none the less to seek his

with themselves, gives respectability to the priesthood, and offers prizes to exertion. He calls the gradations of clerical rank "rules of the society, rather than laws of the religion," and declares that "christianity may be professed under any form of church government."

\* An argument which may seem scarcely to correspond to the dignity of the subject, is used by Hey on Art. 23d. "If ministers be self ordained,—how can it be brought about that certain appearances, modes of dress and behaviour, shall be so associated with piety and virtue, as instantly to produce good feelings in the mind?"

christian liberty, because he admires the organization which oppresses him. Whether any such objection lies against the English church will be seen from our remarks on its articles and ritual.

We do not doubt that the episcopal form of polity is well adapted to maintain itself. It is well arranged and balanced to enlist and direct many strong human feelings; and we entered fully into the sentiment of an episcopal friend, who once expressed to us his admiration of a mechanism, which could work to such effect, when there was so little ability to direct its movements. But the true question is, is it strong to do right, and weak to do wrong. We grant that it makes dissent from certain obscure doctrines inconvenient, and dissatisfaction with certain arbitrary forms vexatious; but we believe we shall say without contradiction, that in no other denomination of christians is discipline in so low a state. We do not allude to such abuses as the absence of a large proportion of the clergy from their cures in England, where the same place is one of great hardship to him who does the duty, and in reality a sinecure to him who receives the emoluments, because it is not perhaps the ecclesiastical system, but the characters of the bishops which are answerable for this, and in our country we know nothing to the contrary of the episcopal superintendence being impartially and vigilantly exercised. But we speak of evils belonging to the system. It is with these only we have to do; for in this country, in many instances we are sure, and in most we believe, the affairs of the church are conducted by conscientious men. We speak of the control over communicants, the only spiritual authority which is now exercised. To take the lowest ground, it is certainly the right of the members of a christian church to protect its reputation, and to guard against scandal by refusing to any, but persons of good lives and conversation, a participation *with them* of christian ordinances. But instead of a good life and conversation, the condition of sharing in the most sacred act of christian fellow-

ship, set forth in the formularies of a sect, which defines the church to be "a congregation of faithful persons," is the ability "to repeat the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, and to answer to such other questions as in the short catechism are contained." A candidate who can stand this ordeal has a right to confirmation by the bishop, and the priest is liable to excommunication, if after this he refuse him the elements. In England an excommunicated person has an appeal to the chancellor, who is often a layman, and the decision of this officer is not subject to the review of the bishop. We need not say that we are not over much attached to narrow conditions of admission to christian privileges. But if there are to be any, let them be grounded on some evidence of desire to live a christian life, and not on the passport of a person who never saw the candidate, till he came to kneel under episcopal hands, and in all probability will never see him again.

Passing over many other objections which might be made, we cannot persuade ourselves that such a system is calculated to operate favourably on the character of the clergy. The highest order of them is placed in a situation of such influence and distinction, as to call no doubt for uncommon discipline of mind, to preserve that humility which becomes the servants of a meek and lowly Saviour. We doubt not (we say this in perfect sincerity) we doubt not, all precautions are taken against this tendency of the circumstances in which they find themselves placed. But agreeing with us, as all christian ministers must, that the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," is a prayer which becomes a christian, they will join us in lamenting the danger, though it may appear to them overbalanced by other advantages.\* Much of what belongs to the

\* If a churchman and a bishop is to be credited, this apprehension sometimes is realized. "I saw the generality of the bishops bartering their independence and the dignity of their order for the chance of a translation, and polluting gospel humility by the pride of prelacy." Watson's life, p. 62.

government of a diocese is moreover almost secular, so much so as to go very far towards justifying the English practice, which almost drops the character of the minister in the bishop. To the usefulness of the priest the system is no more propitious. He is under the same disadvantage with every other man who has a superior responsible for his conduct. If he is blamed, or blames himself for his remissness, he does not forget that the bishop as well as himself must answer for it, and by the division of the responsibility, the power of conscience is weakened. The officiating clergy are partially at least relieved of dependence on those to whom their mal-administration is a wrong. If accused they must answer to one, whom, faithful as he may be to his trust, they may, if they have sufficient resources and address, find some other means to satisfy of their innocence, besides proving it, or whom at least they may influence in their favour by repelling specific accusations, when he has not the opportunity of frequent intercourse to learn how they fulfil those less determinate duties, by which the faithful or negligent discharge of an office is best made known. A bishopric in prospect is no aid to the usefulness of a priest. The acknowledged and official head of such a body as the clergy is necessarily a man of great consequence and power. The influence of one among the American bishops, we suppose, is not inferior to that of more than one other man in the United States. Such a situation cannot but be an object of desire to those who are in a condition to be raised to it; and to say nothing of the advantage both to shepherd and flock of the connexion, between them being understood to be permanent, nor of the danger of sinking the clerical character in canvassing for preferment, in soliciting the powerful, making partisans of the low, and plotting against rivals,—we are not satisfied that any ambition, except that to discharge regularly laborious and responsible duties, can well have place in the mind of one engaged in the christian ministry. Once more; the same man will not make the best bishop and

the best priest; and we should think this must be an injury to all in the subordinate rank, hoping, as it is at least possible all may, to be raised to the higher. We should fear, that in qualifying themselves for the office to which they are aspiring, they might regard less the qualifications for the place they fill; that present usefulness might suffer by the chance of promotion.

But we need not enlarge on this subject, for if the system of episcopacy continues to subsist at all, it will be only by the credit which it may gain to its pretensions to a divine right. Good as it might be reckoned, it would soon be obsolete, if it attempted to exercise authority where it was considered as only a prudential institution. The first man who thought himself wronged by those in place under it, would secede. The first imagined abridgment of the christian liberty of an individual would create a schism, for no man would submit to what he thought an unjust exercise of an usurped authority. Those who maintain the expediency of this form of government, must, whatever they may think,—if they mean it shall continue,—must, if their consciences will suffer them, maintain its *jure divino* claim. It will stand on no narrower base; and when Locke and Paley sought to remove it to another, we are almost tempted to believe, that, friends to religious liberty as they were, they meant to take a step to demolish it, and chose the way which was at once the surest, and the least obnoxious, to accomplish their purpose.

Mr. Sparks's second letter is on *the ritual of the episcopal church*. He speaks of the use of forms of prayer in the following judicious and candid terms.

“Your remarks on the utility and expediency of forms of prayer are not without weight. If we ever give utterance to our feelings in chaste, appropriate, and solemn language, it should be in our addresses to the Deity. If we ever suppress the vain ambition of using lofty phrases, high sounding epithets, and an unnecessary abundance of words, it should be then.

We cannot study too much to make our language simple, plain, forcible and direct. In those religious exercises in which large numbers unite, and where the prayers are intended to express the wants and petitions of the whole, there can certainly be no impropriety in using a preconceived form, composed in such general terms as to be adapted to a promiscuous assembly."

It is not pretended that the use of set forms of prayer is required in scripture, as essential to the fit performance of that duty; nor can those who approve forms, take in defence of them that favourite ground of antiquity, where ignorant and worldly ecclesiastics of the fourth and fifth centuries may be called in for allies. "Men had prayed to God," as Palmer remarks, "two thousand years before any books were written;" and extemporaneous prayer was habitually offered in the assemblies of the primitive christians. "They prayed," says Tertullian, "without any prompter except their own hearts." "The president," says Justin Martyr, "prayed according to his ability." Nor until the council of Milan, in the year 416, were forms authoritatively appointed by the church.

On the other hand, the lawfulness of the use of set forms is not denied, for those, who find them to conduce to the purposes of social worship. We need not therefore stop to consider what Dr. Wyatt could have meant by the words "the lawfulness of forms being then established *by a divine appointment*," any more than to ask how his remark, that "the book of Psalms was inspired by the Holy Ghost *for the use of the congregation*," is to be reconciled with the fact, (undisputed, as we have supposed, till now,) that many of the Psalms were composed on subjects of a personal nature; and suited as they are to excite devout sentiments, are, from their structure, as entirely unsuitable as one of the discourses of our Lord, or one of the epistles would be, to make a part in the devotions of an assembly of worshippers.

We are not aware of any prejudice on this subject, nor do we even regard it as of the first importance. We wish, as all christians must, that prayer should be offered in that manner, in which the purposes of devotion will be best accomplished. It is a thing of minor concern whether our petitions be offered in the words of others or our own; the object is that they be offered in the most solemn, reverend, and edifying manner. We are not blind to the advantages or defects of either of the different methods adopted in christian congregations; but after as fair an estimate as we are able to make of them, we cannot but regard prayers in a certain sense extemporaneous, as best fitted to accomplish the ends of public worship. They require in the clergy a useful discipline of heart and mind, a familiarity with scripture and with devotional thoughts. They require a peculiar culture of the affections, and at the time of offering them give an animation to the devout feelings, which tends much to the improvement, alike of the intellectual and religious character of the clergy, and by direct consequence of their power of usefulness. No doubt, that, except under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment, or except prevented by a constitutional diffidence, or want of fluency seldom found, the same person, after a proper course of preparation, may utter a more appropriate and fervent prayer in the church, than he can compose in the closet; because in retirement he is only preparing it to be offered, and it will almost unavoidably be marked by a rhetorical coldness; in the church he is really offering it, and under circumstances which can hardly fail, except under disadvantages such as have been named, to work up a mind of sensibility to a high pitch of devotional feeling. He is operated on by the associations of place, and by a sense of the solemnity and interest of the occasion. His mind is awed by the unbroken silence, and at the same time led into the proper train and forced into strong action, by the presence of a multitude, whose devotions he is to present. He is at liberty to adapt

his thanksgiving and petitions to the circumstances of those whose devotions he leads, and we suppose no one doubts, that our devotional feelings are most engaged by those prayers, which have the closest reference to our own condition. And to these reasons for preference of the congregational form of conducting public worship, which we conceive give the promise, that the prayers offered in christian assemblies will be in this way the best constructed for their purpose, we add, that the degree of variety of expression and of topics, which this method admits, is of use to excite and keep alive the devout feelings of the worshippers.

We are not insensible, however, to an inconvenience attending this method. It requires in the person who officiates, abilities and cultivation which may be dispensed with in him, who is only needed, to use the phrase of Dr. Mayhew, "to read prayers to God." And even the best qualified for the sacred office, are, at times, from languor of spirits and temporary decay of their powers, or from accidental embarrassment, from which a public assembly is no place to recover, in danger of paining their fellow-worshippers by a want of fluency or propriety in their addresses. We have no hesitation in admitting this difficulty to be real. But we have never seen or heard it stated except in what seem to us exaggerated terms. We have not found it to exist to any very serious extent. A man learns to pray as he learns to preach; and if he have considerable acquaintance with scripture, and right views of the nature of the service, we think he will be more likely, with the same talents and discipline, to offer the prayers of a christian assembly in a suitable manner, than to interest and profit them by his preaching. And if by chance, a moment's hesitation should occur, or an expression not the aptest possible escape him, it is not an occasion to call forth a captious criticism; or the taste, if offended, may look for its compensation to a moment of greater collectedness, and more raised devotional feeling. The inconvenience, we are satisfied, has been not so much ex-



perienced, as feared; and thus it has had the effect, which all christians must rejoice in, to draw the attention of christian societies to the gifts and piety of their clergy, and, in a considerable degree, to bar the places of public instruction against men of incompetent attainments or doubtful character.

This objection to extemporaneous prayer, as (inaccurately, we suppose, in general) it is called, is the only one to which we attach any sort of weight. We have heard it said, that it is hard to follow a prayer which one hears for the first time, and confusing to have to consider before one adopts it for his own, whether it expresses his feelings, and is suitable for his use. We suspect the evil is nearly imaginary. The topics of prayer are from its nature limited; and ought to be, and to a great degree are, familiar. Every person has forms of expression, which in some degree belong to him, and are a guide to his meaning before the whole is uttered. Nor is every prayer offered in the church wholly different from all others. He who should seek to diversify his expressions to this extent, would be setting himself a task, painful to himself, and unprofitable to his people. And even at the worst, it is no very painful thing to keep the mind in suspense till the longest period, commonly used in prayer, is finished. But we may further reply, that the inconvenience, if it exist, furnishes no ground of preference for a form prescribed. For if it be hard to follow a prayer which one is using for the first time, it is next to impossible to follow a prayer which one has used times innumerable. Familiarity lulls attention to sleep; and if it can be roused, it is only by an effort which wholly engages the mind, and forbids it to be excited by the feelings which the occasion, unless such a narcotic were provided, would infallibly create. It is one of the good effects, we apprehend, of the assembling of christians together, that it invigorates and gives earnestness to the feelings of piety in all. And this ought to cause the common worship to be offered in a strain of warmer de-

votion. But a prescribed form of prayer forbids this. It can have little indulgence for the course into which circumstances may lead the thoughts and feelings of the worshippers. It offers them only the alternative of stepping aside from the train of their reflections, to repeat, with such interest as they are able to force, a form of words which, from use, has lost its power to excite,—or of indulging apart from the assembly, devout emotions of their own, which, if the tyrannical service did not forbid, would be kindled and confirmed by being expressed in prayer.

But we do not defend extemporaneous prayer. Without doubt, we would have a person who assumes the sacred office, made capable, by previous discipline, of offering a suitable thanksgiving or request in the name of other christians, for the blessings which any moment may unexpectedly bring or call for.\* But on stated occasions we would not have him undertake to lead the public devotions, without much and serious preparation. We would have him, before he ventures on so solemn an office, converse in solitude with religious thoughts; summon into his heart and mind every holy feeling, every grand and engaging conception of God, every inextinguishable “longing after immortality;” and work up his whole soul for the noblest act in which the soul of man engages. But when he has turned his thoughts and feelings into the proper channel, let him not dyke them in, and force them to stagnate there, but rather bid them roll on, and trust that mingling with the heart-offering of others, they will flow in a yet fuller tide. In this state of mind it is not probable that his fellow worshippers will be tasked to understand his meaning, or embarrassed to decide whether it is applicable to themselves. Almost the least instructed

\* The episcopal historian of the presbyterians of England and Scotland in Charles II.'s time agrees to this, “Il y a quelques ministres capables qui sans le formulaire ordinaire font des prières pleines d'édification, et a cela tout ministre de l'évangile dont être préparé.” Edit. 2d. p. 134.

man may be nearly sure in the utterance of deeply-felt devout emotions, to carry the sympathy of others with him. This state of feeling, he will find the warm and powerful language of scripture best fitted to express. And by the frequent use of scripture language, which is copious enough for almost any occasion which can occur, not only will the inconvenience named be guarded against,—for most who attend public worship are familiar enough with scripture to know when a sentence is begun what will follow,—but the great object is attained of having a worship in which all christians, whatever be their diversities of belief, can join; for interpret it as variously as they may, all allow the authority of scripture, and whatever is its language, they with full assent are willing to make the language of their prayers.

We have heard it as often as it is idly said, that in the congregational service the people can with no more propriety be said to pray, than they can be said to preach. If there is good sense in this, then public worship can only be properly conducted by the whole congregation speaking aloud, at once; then instead of offering prayers, as it has been commonly supposed to do, for various important blessings, through a considerable part of the Litany, the congregation does nothing but repeat, some fifteen or twenty times, “we beseech thee to hear us, good Lord;” and then, a great part of the English form might as well not deface the white paper of the service-book, for the prayers in it, with the single exception (as we believe) of the Lord’s prayer, are repeated by the priest alone, and are only appropriated by the congregation to themselves by an expression of assent at the close.

We prefer then free prayer to the use of prescribed forms, because we do not see that the former is liable to any important objection, while the latter relieve the clergy of an useful task, are not capable of being accommodated so closely to circumstances as might be wished, and tend to deaden the spirit of devotion. We feel strongly with Dr. Wyatt, that “we have a

sacred privilege and an awful duty, when we approach the throne of Jehovah; every thing therefore, which can tend to promote the most profound veneration, the most undivided attention, and the purest devotion, should be strictly adhered to;" and it is because we think thus, that we differ from him on the subject of a form. Other things being equal, we do not doubt that the best prayer will be that which is not composed till it is uttered; that he will most fitly offer the devotions of others, who is at the moment offering his own. It is when engaged in that service, that the sense of God's greatness, of our own unworthiness and dependence, is most powerfully felt. The mind is crowded with appropriate thoughts,—awed, elevated, and warmed at once,—and all those feelings called into strong exercise, which make up the spirit of prayer.\* If the persons employed in the ministry are capable of being affected by such emotions, we would have

\* Bishop Hall's expressions in correspondence with these views, used in controversy with Calamy and others in 1640, shew him to have been little acquainted with the views of men in power, or to have had little sympathy with them. "Far be it from me to dishearten any good christian from the use of conceived prayer in his private devotions, and upon occasion also in the public. I would hate to be guilty of pouring so much water upon the spirit, to which I would gladly add oil rather. No, let the full soul freely pour out itself in gracious expressions of its holy thoughts into the bosom of the Almighty; let both the sudden flashes of our quick ejaculations, and the constant flames of our more fixed conceptions, mount up from the altar of a zealous heart unto the throne of grace; and if there be some stops or solecisms, in the fervent utterance of our private wants, these are so far from being offensive, that they are the most pleasing music to the ears of that God unto whom our prayers come.—What I have professed concerning conceived prayers is that which I have ever allowed, ever practised, both in *private and public*. God is a free spirit, and so should ours be, in pouring out our voluntary devotions *upon all occasions*. Nothing hinders but that this liberty and a public liturgy should be good friends, and go hand in hand together; and whosoever would forcibly separate them, let them bear their own blame—the over rigorous pressing of the liturgy, to the justling out of preaching or *conceived prayers*, was never intended by the law makers, or moderate governors of the church."

them permitted to express such;\* and we do believe that men who are able to preach, are able to pray. At the same time we do not forget, that for the want of interest and appropriateness in preconceived prayers, there is some compensation in their admitting of being cleared from any thing offensive or irrelevant; and where special precautions on this score are thought necessary, we would certainly have them used. We think that in the time of Edward VI. when a very small proportion of the clergy were fit to be trusted with the public worship or instruction, the better part did well to provide a book of homilies for them to preach from, and a service book for them to pray by, and wherever the same need is thought to exist, we hope that similar provision will be made to meet it.

We have stated our objections to forms in general. But we have yet graver charges against the episcopal book of common prayer. We object to it that,

1. It is a perpetual form. Men, all of whom have been in their graves more than an hundred, and some more than a thousand years, dictate the addresses of episcopalians at the throne of grace.† Since their time the habits of thinking and of expression are considerably changed,—and why, when on other occasions we are able to speak our own language, why confine us in this to the words of others, when if left to ourselves, we might fix on thoughts more interesting

\* We are at a loss for the meaning of the framers of the liturgy, when in the office of institution they require the newly inducted minister to pray, “be ever with me in the performance of the duties of my ministry; in prayer to quicken my devotion, in praises to heighten my love and gratitude.” On personal accounts, quickened devotion and heightened love and gratitude are fit objects of prayer to a christian minister, as well as to other christians, but they do nothing to assist him “in the performance of the duties of his ministry,” which are named; for be his devotions ever so quickened or so dead, his love and gratitude ever so lively or so languid, the same form of *prayer and praises* must perforce be used.

† Occasional prayers are sometimes composed, but the substance of the book remains inviolably the same. *Permanet, et remanebit in omne immobilis ævum.*

to us, or apprehend the same thoughts in a somewhat different shape or order, and clothe them in a somewhat different phraseology? It would only be more unreasonable to require us to transact our common affairs in the dialect of Chaucer. Doubtless the chief blessings, which we have to acknowledge or ask, are the same in all ages of the church; but it is certain, that it is the acknowledgment of distinguishing blessings, which gives the greatest life to devotion. Common air is more worth than the greatest worldly success; but for which of these is one likely to express the liveliest gratitude? It is nature to be more thankful for a favour which has a personal and appropriate value. The form of words, which is suitable alike for our use, and for that of men who lived from the fourth century to the seventeenth, has no special fitness for the use of either. To stand on common ground, we must leave that personal ground where the most fervent devotions would be offered.

Again; with the progress of scriptural knowledge, the sentiments entertained with regard to some points involved in the episcopal formularies, have experienced change. The mass of episcopalians of the present day dissent in some particulars (unimportant they will say) from the sentiments of the authors and compilers of their service-book; and are compelled in the use of it to attach some new meaning to plain words, or abstract their attention from the public worship, where certain odious passages occur,—practising in either case a mental reservation, painful to themselves, and capable of being misconceived by others. On the other hand, to just the extent that they reverence the form in which they worship, they are tempted to profess or adopt a belief in some respects unscriptural; and piety, by this deplorable arrangement, is made to turn traitor to truth.

Nor is this all. The volume with which our earliest religious recollections are associated, and which we are told has guided the devotions of generations before us, is very apt to take a place in the mind which is due

to holy scripture alone. Our admirable liturgy,—as the phrase is in episcopal pulpits,—is very apt to be as much venerated, and as confidently appealed to as the Bible, even by some by whom it is as little read; and we have heard it spoken of, in and out of church, in terms, which seem to us little applicable to any other book than that of inspiration. So great has been the influence of the feeling of which we speak, that the ritual which Blackstone\* declared to have been preserved in the sixteenth century principally by the terror of penal laws, was pronounced by Paley in the eighteenth, to have such an authority, that only by the most spirited measures could necessary alterations be expected to be forced into it.† Nay, the word of God is by many not thought fit to go abroad without the book of common prayer by its side. Propose in some places, where the church is in power, to send but a few Bibles to the east or west, and the cry, *ecclesia in periculo!* is up. The scriptures and the service-book are brought out tied together,‡ and like the

\* Of the law, 1 Eliz. c. 2. enacting, that if any person *whatsoever shall—speak any thing in derogation, depraving, or despising of the book of common prayer, he shall forfeit—for the third offence all his goods and chattles, and suffer imprisonment for life*, Blackstone says, (Comm. vol. iv. p. 51.) “These penalties were framed in the infancy of our present establishment, when the disciples of Rome and Geneva united in inveighing with the utmost bitterness against the English liturgy; and the terror of these laws proved a principal means, under providence, of preserving the purity as well as decency of our national worship.”

† “As the man who attacks a flourishing establishment writes with a halter round his neck, few ever will be found to attempt alterations. but men of more spirit than prudence, of more sincerity than caution, of warm, eager and impetuous tempers; consequently if we are to wait for improvement till the cool, the calm, the discreet part of mankind begin it, till church governors solicit, or ministers of state propose it,—I will venture to pronounce that (without His interposition with whom nothing is impossible) we shall remain as we are till the ‘renovation of all things.’”

‡ The reference is to the part taken by bishop Marsh, and the high church party in England, with regard to the Bible Society. The sentiments advanced by them have not wanted distinguished advocates in this country.

An account of the English controversy may be found in the

customers of the speculator in the story who dealt in commodities of various worth, the hungry for religious instruction must take both or neither.\*

II. The English form of worship is substantially *one form* Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, fast-days, feast-days, and saint-days, the whole year long and every year, it is almost all the same. "Through all the changing scenes of life," it plods resolutely *on the even tenor of its way*. Come a famine, an earthquake or a war; be a church in the garment of praise, or in the spirit of heaviness; let a pestilence depopulate a land, a fire lay a city in ashes, an insurrection threaten a state, or a despaired of victory preserve it,—when you would expect to hear only one loud burst of praise, or thrilling cry for mercy, the inflexible prayer-book claims all its due. The enthusiasm of the worshipper must be content to be checked in mid flight, while the minister begins at the beginning, and reads to the end, and then submit to vent itself in some preconstructed prayer (called appropriate) consisting of a score of lines. The whole round of every day topics must needs be gone regularly through, and only a corner left for the overwhelming calamity, or the transporting success. Now all will admit, that the same sermon, preached thus often, with only a sentence or two varied to suit the time, would soon fail to sustain attention. Is there not equal cause to fear, that the same form of words, so often repeated in prayer, will unavoidably come to fall from the lips, and on the ear, without an answer

Eclectic Review, vol. 8. pp. 1209, et seq. and in the Christian Observer, vol. 11, pp. 173. 289. 392, et seq. Dr. Marsh laid down, among other things, that respect for the liturgy is "diminished by the institution and operation of a Bible Society."

\* The manner in which churchmen speak of their liturgy is sometimes to the last degree extraordinary. Dr. Mayhew quotes a Dr. Bearcroft, who in a sermon preached in 1744, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, congratulated his associates that "the word of God mightily grew and prevailed in New England according to the liturgy of the church of England."



at the heart? It is no reply to this to say, that the topics of prayer are things of permanent interest; for is not this the case too, we would ask, with the materials of pulpit discourse? Ought not a sermon to be made up of thoughts of eternal and unchanging interest? The question is not whether the ideas are always alike important, but whether the words do not lose by use their property of being a vehicle of thought, and cease to suggest ideas, either these or any other.\*

III. The episcopal form of worship is faulty in its general plan. This is a matter for every individual's judgment, and if any one is not struck by the fact at once, it is not such as admits of proof. The service seems to us to be broken up into too many and too minute parts, and thus to lose that connexion, which is a virtue in every kind of composition. We should think it much better if it were more consolidated, that there might be to a greater degree a mutual dependence and coherence of the parts, and the mind not be continually arrested on the current of its feelings by the

\* An illustration of this may be drawn from what most persons perhaps experience with regard to the Lord's prayer. The consequence of our familiarity with it from childhood, is, that it is only by an effort, and a strong one, that we can attach to its words the ideas for which they stand. We are never, perhaps, fully aware of its significance, and could a person be found who was unacquainted with it before, it would strike him, we doubt not, as possessing an eloquence and fulness of meaning, very partially perceptible by ourselves. In connexion with this subject we may remark, that when congregationalists, in attending on episcopal worship, imagine themselves impressed by the solemnity of the service, they would do well to consider whether it is not rather its novelty that impresses them; and whether all the while that it appears so striking to them, to whom it is new, it is not very fatiguing to the stated worshippers, to whom it is old. An unprejudiced churchman is as strongly affected by the simplicity of congregational worship, as a congregationalist by the pomp of episcopal; and both for the same reason, operating however not to the same degree on both,—that the ardour of devotional feeling ceases to be checked in them, by familiarity of the form of expressing it. There is a remark to this effect, if we mistake not, in some work of Mrs. Barbauld,

forms of closing one prayer, and introducing another. As it is, if the numerous prayers contain each of them what belongs to a prayer, the repetition must be not a little tiresome; if not, they are defective in themselves.—The arrangement is not happy. No good reason appears why parts of the service should stand in the appointed order rather than another.—There is too much of it. With a little variety of topics and expression, it might keep alive attention a much longer time, but what is at once so long and so unalterable has not the power to do this. Yet so overlooked was this radical blemish, that one scrap of devotion is piled on another at the end of the litany, as if the only object were to draw it out to a given length. Repetitions and redundancies, omissions and defects must be looked for in every human composition; but they are worth avoiding when they may be avoided, and certainly so obvious mismanagement need not have had place, as that which introduces the Lord's prayer six times (as it may occur,) in the same service, and the Gloria Patri we know not how many. The Psalms, containing as they do, the richest vein in the world of devotional thought and language, which wrought into the texture of the service would give it quite another character, are, by a most infelicitous disposition, transplanted into it in a mass, and with all their localities and personalities of meaning, appointed to be read in selections of whole chapters at once, by the whole array of worshippers. We are told that they are not used as part of the public prayer. We reply, that they ought to be; and that we know no good reason, why they should be reserved from a use for which they seem almost designed, so fitted are they for all purposes of devotion, for another less definite use, in which, unskilfully applied to it as they are, they are very far less edifying.

IV. The episcopal service appears too formal to cherish the spirit of devotion, and too pompous to be a fit religious homage. What with the standing, kneeling, and sitting of the worshippers, the wardens

with their staves, and the clerk in his box, the change by the priest, of dress from surplice to gown, and of place from the reading desk to the vestry, from the vestry to the altar, and thence to the pulpit, the whole scene has a theatrical air, and very little congeniality, till habit has reconciled it with the feelings with which an humble christian goes to worship. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast of this parade with the simple service of the primitive believers.\* Some of the ceremonies are fantastic beyond all but popish example. They do not appear in their most offensive shape in places where there prevails a taste for simplicity in divine service; but wherever there is an inclination to pomp, nothing can be more accommodating than the church; and a friend, who attended episcopal worship not long ago in Quebec, informs us, that so little in unison with protestant ideas was the show,—the bishop sitting in idle state under his canopy within the rails, and the singing men in their copes chanting† the service from above, that but for the familiar English words, he might have doubted whether he were in the protestant cathedral of Canada, or in the neighbouring chapel of Notre Dame.‡ The feasts and fasts,

\* The manner of public worship as late as the end of the second century is described by Neal (vol. 2. p. 407.) on the authority of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. to have been this. First, the scriptures were read; after reading followed an exhortation to the practice and imitation of what was read; then all rose up and joined in prayer; after this they went to the sacrament. in the beginning whereof the president of the assembly poured out prayers and thanksgivings, *according to his ability*, and the people said *amen*; then followed the distribution of the elements, and a collection of alms.

† The homily on the time and place of prayer, expressly condemns chanting and playing upon the organ, as *sorely displeasing to God, and filthily defiling his holy house*. Book of Homilies, p. 294. Oxford edition, 8vo. 1816.

‡ In "Pillars of Priestcraft and orthodoxy shaken," vol. 2. p. 343, is preserved an account of the form of consecration of certain bishops in Dublin, by the archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, in 1660,—a valuable document, to shew what a magnifi-

in the observance of which, christians find so much satisfaction, were instituted to conciliate pagans, as a father of the fifth century, quoted by Mr. Sparks, (p. 77,) ingenuously or inadvertently hints. "Our Lord God hath brought his dead (martyrs) into the room and place of your gods, whom he hath sent off, and given their honour to his martyrs. For instead of the feasts of Jupiter and Bacchus, are now celebrated the festivals of Peter, and Paul, and Thomas, and Sergius, and other holy martyrs."

V. The episcopal service authorizes a rite not christian. We speak of the rite of confirmation, which has no decent show of scriptural evidence. Where the early preachers of our religion are said in the New Testament to have confirmed their converts, that confirmation in the faith, and that only, is spoken of which is the effect of a better acquaintance with it, and of encouragements to hold fast the profession of it without wavering. Paul went with Silas "through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches," (Acts xv. 41.) in the same manner as with Barnabas he went "to Lystra, and to Iconium, and to Antioch, *confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the*

cence the church affected, even at a time when it had not ceased to be hard pressed by the puritans. Among other remarkable things, these words are the conclusion of an anthem, composed for the occasion, by the dean of St. Patrick's:

'Angels, look down, and joy to see  
Like that above, a monarchy;  
Angels, look down, and joy to see  
*Like that above, an hierarchy.'*

Does not the following, from another source, look less like a directory of public worship, than like the orders to the scene-shifters and orchestra in the prompter's copy of a German play? "After the dismissal of the congregation, a few moments will be allowed for mental prayer, that God will pardon the imperfection of the prayers that have been offered, and dispose the hearts of his people to obey his will. The sexton will then throw open the doors, and the organ will commence soft and solemn music, rising with the swell, and ending with the full organ."

*kingdom of God."* (Acts xiv. 21, 22.) Nor are the texts relating to *imposition of hands* any more to the purpose; for wherever this is spoken of in the New Testament as a religious ceremony, as Mr. Sparks with perfect accuracy remarks, "it always implies" as in Acts viii. 17. "a communication of extraordinary gifts," or, as in Acts vi. 6. "induction to some office." It were well if there were nothing worse to say of this rite than that it is unauthorized. But we fear that no good comes of the bishop's thanking God for having "regenerated his servants," i. e. in baptism, "by water and the Holy Ghost, and given unto them forgiveness of all their sins," and going on to "certify them by this sign," (i. e. by imposition of his hands,) of God's "favour and gracious goodness to them." In the view of this office, he who can bring to the altar rails the slender preparation of the creed, the Lord's prayer, &c. may go thence, if he believe his spiritual father, with the comforting assurance that his warfare is accomplished, that his iniquity is pardoned. It is a way to quiet conscience too abrupt, we fear, not to be dangerous.—This is no trifling. The words of the office, if they mean any thing, mean what we have said. If not, they ought to be disused; for they are supposed to be significant, and so deceive.

#### VI. It involves false doctrine.

False we call it. Disputed it is, at all events; and therefore unfit to make a part of social worship; for this is a duty in which christians ought to be encouraged to unite, and it is no gracious thing to try one who comes to put himself on our christian hospitality, by a doctrinal shibboleth. We are not prepared to say, that a religious community are obliged, out of tenderness to others' views, to exclude from their devotions any thing which appears to them essential to acceptable worship; but we do say, that it is no matter of caprice, and that it is under a heavy responsibility, that the decision, what is thus essential, must

be made. The following are examples of false doctrine involved in the episcopal service.

1. The trinity.

This is supposed in different places. Particularly, the second petition in the litany is addressed to God the Son, the third to God the Holy Ghost, and the fourth to the "holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity," and great part of the same prayer or collection of prayers is offered to our Saviour.

2. The popish error of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacramental elements, is certainly not discountenanced in the following passages of the order for the administration of the Lord's supper. "That we and all others who shall be partakers of this holy communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ." "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."\*

3. That baptism is a saving ordinance.

"Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate." "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit."†

\* For the popish character of the English church service at large, in the estimation of the first reformers, we have very good authority. King Edward, to satisfy the Devonshire rebels, wrote to them, "As for the service in the English tongue, it perchance seems to you a new service, but yet indeed it is no other but the old; the self-same words in English." Dissenter's Catechism, p. 48.

† Dr. Wyatt calls the baptismal font *the laver of regeneration*, p. 37. In the church catechism, the child is taught to define the "inward and spiritual grace" in baptism, "a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace." In the twenty-seventh article baptism is declared to be "not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of *regeneration or new birth*, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church; the

4. That bishops are able to communicate the holy spirit, and confer the power of forgiving sins.

"When the prayer is done, the bishop, with the priests present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood, the receivers humbly kneeling, and the bishop saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands; WHOSE SINS THOU DOST FORGIVE, THEY ARE FORGIVEN; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." Form and manner of ordering priests.\*

These are samples of the service-book. We are accustomed to consider prayer as an awfully solemn thing. In this exercise, if at any time, we assuredly think that we ought to say what we mean. With a man, who, holding unitarian opinions, can use the litany as a prayer, or who, believing that no human power is competent to forgive sins, can ordain or be ordained in the form we have extracted—we know not how to sympathize. We enter not at all into his views. We hope they are as just as they appear to us extraordinary.

VII. The Book of Common Prayer contains improprieties of language.

We admit that it is an advantage of preconceived prayers over extemporaneous, that care may be taken

promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God, are visibly signed and sealed." Nothing seemed wanting to carry episcopal pretensions the length of caricature, till Mr. Dodwell, as quoted by Doddridge, Lect. vol. ii. p. 373, started the idea, that "there goes along with the administration of baptism, if the person administering it be duly ordained, a certain immortalizing spirit, whereas persons dying unbaptized are not immortal;" that is to say, in plainer English, episcopal ordination communicates the power of conferring immortality!

\* We cannot enlarge on the idea that all this false doctrine is protected in the strong fortress of the prayer-book, but will rest it on the authority of Dr. Wyatt. "Forms serve as an unchanging standard of faith, always instructing the people, and acting as a barrier against the innovation of new doctrines." p. 31.

to exclude unsuitable expressions. In many instances in the episcopal service-book, this single advantage is waived. As it would be giving ourselves needless trouble to make out a list of such when it is done to our hand, we will give a specimen extracted from the fourteenth edition of the Protestant Dissenter's catechism.\*

*“Uncouth and obsolete words and phrases. ‘Pre-vent us in all our doings.—Let thy mercy lighten us.—Ordered by thy governance.—Thine honourable and true Son.—That we be fulfilled with thy grace.—Those things which we ask faithfully.—May do such things as be rightful.—For the more confirmation of the faith.—Through our sins and wickedness we be sore let and hindered.—Thy late plague of immoderate rain.—The spirit of ghostly strength.—Great marvels.—Deadly sins, &c.’*

*“Many also occur in the version of the Psalms read in the church, which is done from the vulgate Latin, (besides several gross mistranslations;) e. g. ‘Tush.—Fie upon thee, fie upon thee.—Thou art my worship.—He is an wholesome defence.—Blessed are the folk.—The time thou hast plagued us.—O thou most highest.—With trumpets and shawms.—We have wished you good luck.—How sweet are thy words unto my throat.—I will bless her victuals, &c. &c.’*

*“Redundancies. ‘Acknowledge and confess.—Not dissemble nor cloak them.—Pardoneth and absolveth.—Vanquish and overcome.—Worthily deserved.—Graciously hear us O Christ, graciously hear us O Lord Christ. (See the end of the Litany.) We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.’ Communion service.*

\* The extract which follows of course refers to the English copy of the prayer-book. In the American some few of the faulty expressions quoted are corrected; the rest stand.



*“Want of Connexion; particularly between the Address and the Petition. ‘Give peace in our time, O Lord, because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.—O God who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom, &c. defend us thy humble servants, &c.—Almighty and everlasting God, who alone workest great marvels, send down upon our Bishops and Curates, the healthful spirit of thy grace.’ In this last instance the connexion unhappily suggests, what the compilers cannot be thought to have intended, viz. that it is a marvellous thing for Curates, and even Bishops, to have grace.*

*“Absurd or unintelligible. ‘By the mystery of thy holy incarnation, by thy holy nativity and circumcision, by thy baptism, fasting, and temptation, &c. Good Lord deliver us.—Hast given us grace in the power of the divine majesty to worship the unity.—Those things, which for our unworthiness we dare not ask, vouchsafe to give us.—Thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father, Amen.’—In one of the prayers in the communion service, God is styled *Holy Father*.—But the rubric orders that on *Trinity Sunday* this title shall be omitted; as if God was not *Holy Father* that day as much as any other.*

*“From this specimen of faults in the established Liturgy, it appears, that churchmen have not quite so much cause to boast of its perfection, and its superiority to extemporary prayers, even in point of expression, as might be imagined. And it should be considered, that in the latter case, improprieties, when observed, may be avoided; but in the former, the faults are established as well as the forms, and must be adhered to, even by those who perceive them.”*

From a remark with which Mr. Sparks begins his third letter, we are led to suppose that he thinks better of the world than it deserves.

"I propose next to consider that part of the twentieth article, which asserts, that 'the church hath authority in controversies of faith.' This you pass over entirely; yet, if I am not mistaken, there is no one thing in which the episcopal church differs more essentially from Protestant churches in general. Few churches, I believe, assume, as a fundamental doctrine, the right and authority of deciding in matters of faith." p. 79.

We are afraid that the church is less distinguished than dishonoured by this claim; that it is a claim in which it mutually countenances, and is countenanced by, most of the sects in Christendom. Among dissenters the principle of toleration is indeed in better esteem, than when the presbyterian ministers and elders of London, convened\* in provincial assembly in 1649, declared it to be "contrary to godliness, opening a door to libertinism and profaneness, and a tenet to be rejected as soul poison;" or than when a president of Harvard college† told our civil fathers, that "if ever toleration got footing among them, they might call its name Gad, for behold a troop cometh, a troop of all abominations." It has made some progress since those times, but it has yet great part of its destined triumph to achieve. Mr. Sparks exposes in this letter with great force the arrogance and futility of the attempt to establish, by the imposition of tests, a human authority over men's consciences, and the evil consequences which follow thence both to clergy and people; and concludes in the following strain of good sense and eloquence.

"With equal propriety might the bounds of philosophical, physical, and political science have been fixed in the time of king Edward, as a standard of religious knowledge. The king and parliament assembled had the same authority to establish certain sciences, and to decree, that no innovations or improvements

\* Toulmin's History of Dissenters, p. 269.

† Oakes, in his Election sermon.

should be made, as they had to settle the rules of faith in religion. They might have decreed, that the earth was immoveable, and the sun, moon, and all the stars, were whirled around it once in twenty-four hours, that the new system of Copernicus was a dangerous heresy, which all the king's well meaning subjects should carefully avoid. They might have enjoined it as a part of the philosophy of the realm, that alchymy and astrology were founded on the true principles of nature, as might be proved 'by most certain warrants' of physical phenomena; and we should now be edified with treatises on the philosopher's stone, transmutations, and a universal medicine. We should have books to tell us what planets ruled at our birth, interspersed with appropriate figures of horoscopes, schemes of nativity, and positions of the stars. They might have decreed, that the schoolmen were the only rational metaphysicians, and that every college in the kingdom should make the categories, analytics, topics, and sophistics of Aristotle an essential branch of education.

"There would have been just as much propriety in fixing rules of belief on these subjects, as there was in drawing up the thirty-nine articles, and the formularies of the church; and setting them forth as a standard of religious faith. Newton, and Bacon, and Locke, would have been considered meddling dissenters from the established philosophy; but still, the force of truth would have been resistless, and would finally have prevailed. So it must be in religion. Error may be concealed and protected for a long time under the guise of forms, and in the mists of ignorance; but the light of truth will at length penetrate so flimsy a covering, and dissolve the cloud.

"It is said, that creeds have a tendency to keep schism out of the church, by causing all its members to think alike. This would be good reasoning, if the church were infallible; but on no other supposition. Unless it were infallible, there could be no certainty of its having the only true faith; and no church should

claim authority to keep its members in ignorance and error to prevent schism. Milton, speaking on this subject with particular reference to the doctrines of the church, and the scheme of prelacy, observes, 'If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of mind upon the people, by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all; if to persecute all knowing and zealous christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schism, they keep schism away indeed; and by this kind of discipline, all Italy and Spain is as purely and politically kept from schism, as England had been by them. With as good plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, 'it is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you.' The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring, 'I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapours;' yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hidebound frosts; but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil, without thanks to your bondage.'\*

"These remarks are but too applicable to fixed formularies of faith of every discription. They are made and imposed without authority; and any attempt to force them on the minds of men is an encroachment on the liberty, and an insult to the understanding of christians. The apostles took upon them no such power. St. Paul enjoins the Galatians to 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.' And to the Corinthians he writes, 'We have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your

\* The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty. Prose Works, vol. i. p. 63.

joy; for by faith ye stand.' 2 Cor. i. 24.—Not by faith in creeds, for this would be giving up our liberty, taking upon us a yoke of bondage, and submitting to the dominion of others; but by faith in the word of God, which all persons are free to consult,—and this freedom all must be allowed to enjoy, before they can be required to believe or obey."\* pp. 105—108.

The article on a part of which Mr. Sparks is here remarking, runs thus;

"The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and *authority in controversies of faith*; and yet it is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of scripture that it be repugnant to another; wherefore although the church be a witness and a keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation."

It did not fall in the way of Mr. Sparks to state a fact which however is not unimportant. It is, that for the egregious folly, as it may seem, of this article, the earliest churchmen are probably not responsible. There is good reason to think that the first clause was not inserted till a subsequent age. It is not found in the forty-two articles of king Edward, nor in the original copy of the thirty-nine, subscribed by both houses

\* The following remark of Watson seems to us to contain the whole doctrine of creeds as a reasonable man can receive it. "I certainly dislike the imposition of all creeds formed by human authority; though I do not dislike them as useful summaries of what *their compilers believe to be true*, either in natural or revealed religion." Life, p. 203.

To the same effect Dr. Ware; "As to the propriety of having a creed, no doubt, I believe, has ever been entertained. Unitarians have always claimed the right of every individual to have his own particular creed. What they have sometimes had occasion to object to, is, not that each of the several sects and denominations of christians should have its own creed, nor that any individual should have one, but that any, whether an individual or a body of christians, should insist upon their creed being the creed of others." Letters addressed to Trinitarians and Calvinists, p. 9.

of convocation, and now preserved in a public library at Cambridge. There is reason to think that it was not even in the copy authorized by parliament in 1571, but was afterwards surreptitiously inserted. An account of the affair may be found in Neal's history, vol. i. p. 207, or in a note to p. 306, vol. ii. of the bishop of Lincoln's *Elements of Theology*. However the truth may be, it is no longer of consequence except as affecting the wisdom of the early reformers, as the clause in question undoubtedly made part of the articles confirmed by act of parliament on the restoration.

We know not an example of more unanswerable reasoning, than that contained in Mr. Spark's fourth letter *on the Calvinistic character* of the formularies of the English church. He begins with the statement, that of the *five points*, as they are called, of Calvin, namely, total depravity, special election, particular redemption, irresistible grace, and the final perseverance of the saints,

"The two first only are fundamental doctrines, of which the three last are necessary consequences. If all men have originally a corrupt nature, which renders them worthy of divine wrath and condemnation, and if God in his mercy have decreed, according to 'his everlasting purpose,' that a certain number of his creatures shall be rescued from this deplorable condition and finally be saved; it is a natural and necessary consequence, that all such persons are redeemed by a particular redemption, are effectually called, and will persevere to the end. The decree of election extends only to particular persons, and therefore the redemption it procures is a particular redemption; it is an absolute decree, and therefore all whom it calls, are effectually called; it is an immutable decree, and therefore all whom it restores to the condition of saints, must retain this condition.

"The fundamental doctrines of Calvinism, then, are total depravity, and election; and if these are found to be contained in the articles and homilies, I.

suppose it may be rightly inferred, that such are the doctrines of the church." pp. 110—111.

The first of these doctrines he finds in the following passages of the articles:

"Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is *the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far (quam longissime) gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated.*"—Art. 9th.

"The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.' Art. x. 'Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace;—yea; rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, *we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.* Art. xiii."

And in the following of the homilies, which, by a vote of the convention in 1814, are required to be studied by all candidates for the ministry;—

"When our great grand father Adam had broken God's commandment, in eating the apple forbidden him in Paradise, at the motion and suggestion of his wife, *he purchased thereby not only to himself, but also to his posterity forever, the just wrath and indignation of God, who, according to his former sentence pronounced at the giving of the commandment, condemned both him and all his to everlasting death, both of the body and soul;—he was cast out of Paradise, he was no longer a citizen of heaven, but a fire-brand of hell, and a bond slave of the devil.*"—2d Ho-

*mily concerning the death and passion of our Saviour.*

“ ‘Man of his own nature is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and naught, sinful and disobedient to God, *without any spark of goodness in him*, without any virtuous or godly motion, only given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds.’ *Homily for Whitsunday, part 1st.*

“ ‘Of ourselves we be crab trees, that can bring forth no apples. We be of ourselves of such earth as can bring forth but weeds, nettles, briars, cockle, and darnel.—Hitherto have we heard what we are of ourselves; very sinful, wretched, and damnable; *we are not able to think a good thought or work a good deed*, so that we can find in ourselves no hope of salvation, but rather whatsoever maketh unto our destruction.’—*Homily of the misery of man.*

“ ‘This so great and miserable a plague, if it had only rested on Adam, who first offended, it had been so much the easier, and might the better have been borne. But it fell not only on him, *but also on his posterity and children for ever*, so that the whole brood of Adam’s flesh should sustain the self same fall and punishment, which their forefather by his offence most justly had deserved.—As in Adam all men universally sinned, so in Adam all men universally received the reward of sin; that is to say, became mortal, and subject unto death, having in themselves nothing but everlasting damnation both of body and soul;—they were nothing else but children of perdition, partakers of hell fire.’ ”—*Homily of the nativity.*

For proof that the second fundamental doctrine of Calvin, that of special election, is avowed by the church, he refers to its seventeenth article:

“ ‘Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation,



as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they, which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose, by his spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only begotten son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

“As the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well, because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because 'it doth fervently kindle their love towards God; so, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

“Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth in holy scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.’”

And to such expressions as these in the book of homilies; “whom God hath *appointed to everlasting salvation*,” “the undoubted children of God; appointed to everlasting life;” “sons of God, and elect of him unto salvation.”—*Homily on Almsdeeds*.

In conclusion of this argument, Mr. Sparks has collected an overwhelming mass of evidence to prove, that “the tenets of the reformers, who framed and adopted the articles of the church,” accorded with those of Calvin. The inference is direct, that had they

studied precision of language far less than they have done, it would be certain what was intended to be conveyed by the words in which their sentiments were formally embodied. "If the tenets of the reformers were not Calvinistic, it will be difficult to prove any thing by written testimony; and it is not manifesting much respect for their memory to charge them with writing articles, and teaching doctrines, which did not accord with their sentiments."

A great majority of the clergy of the English church, both in Europe and America, is understood to entertain sentiments the opposite of those of Calvin. Yet to these Calvinistic articles, in entering on their office, they give, in the most solemn manner, their assent. "Can these things be, without our special wonder?" The Englishman is the more leniently dealt with. He is required only to engage for the present, and "acknowledge all and every the articles, *to be agreeable to the word of God.*" The American must take on him obligations for the future; "I do solemnly engage *to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States.*" He formally renounces for himself the advantage of future inquiry, for any other object than to confirm his settled views; and engages for ever to adhere to such sentiments, as the studies that have fitted him for deacon's orders have led him to adopt. Whatever learning and piety may do to illustrate certain obscurities in the religious system, he gives a pledge, that, as far as depends on him, such as the current belief is at present, such it shall ever be; and from the light that is kindling in a glorious blaze all about him, should a random ray fall on his averted eyes, he promises to shut them,—and *conform.*

It is a sad blot on the memory of one of the wisest men, that he gave all the weight of his great authority to the idea, that the articles of the church, are articles not of faith, but of peace, and that the precise solemn declaration, "I acknowledge all and

every the articles to be agreeable to the word of God," meant only, 'I promise never to impugn them. He saw, (as a man of his penetration and philosophical freedom from bias, could scarcely fail to do,) that doctrines, which had had their day, were most expressly and unequivocally avowed in these articles; and, granting that no undetected selfish feeling swayed him, he was willing to do something to save the church from being deprived, in her time of need, of the services of men able and virtuous as he was. To this end he resorted to a piece of casuistry utterly unworthy of his name, and it is not the least of the charges that this rule of exclusion must answer to, that it was able for once to pervert such a mind as Paley's. His reasoning (that it should ever be said of him!) is as weak as his doctrine is depraving. His preliminary remark is indefensible. It is not true that, by requiring subscription to articles containing statements of doctrine, the legislature of the 13th Eliz. intended to exclude puritans from offices in the church. On the contrary, it was, long after, a favourite complaint of churchmen against that sect, that their dissent was owing to an unreasonable pertinacity, a narrow spirit of opposition about things of minor moment, unjustifiable when in the main points of doctrine all were agreed. This was the ground taken by churchmen. Whether solid or not is of no moment. It shows that they did not pretend by doctrinal tests to shut puritans out of the fold. But passing this, there is another incurable flaw in the argument. We admit the principle of this writer, that the *animus imponentis* ought to govern the conscience of him who assumes the engagement. But we reject his answer to the question *quis imposuit*, as well as to that *quo animo*. Who imposes the test? Not the legislature of the 13th Elizabeth. The legislature of the 13th Eliz. is a nonentity. It is no more a party to the contract of subscription, than the first senate of Rome. The parties are, the candidate for ordination who subscribes or engages, and the

existing episcopal church, which, as a condition of his assuming an office in it, requires his subscription or engagement. It is the existing church, whose security is concerned, and which thinks to promote its security by exacting such engagements. If it did not think them useful, it has the power to dispense with them.

The meaning of the existing establishment, then, is the *animus imponentis*. And what does it mean? If, as the words explicitly signify, to require of the candidate a bona fide assurance of belief, and promise of conformity, then he who enters into the required engagement without entertaining the belief so exactly described, or persisting in the conformity so positively contracted for, commits a fraudulent act. If on the other hand, the church means something different from what it seems to mean, what is to be said of a community which trifles with such measured words,—which unnecessarily afflicts tender consciences with a form of language which it *means to be unmeaning*; which holds out to the world the idea, that it is imposing a test of faith, when it is only enjoining a rule of forbearance,\* and tempts its members to wonder at their guides, who give so unheard of a significance to language?

\* As long as these are entitled not articles for trying the wits of clerks, and confounding those of laymen, but “for the avoiding of the *diversities of opinions*, and for the stablishing of consent touching true religion,” that is, by excluding dissentients from the pale, the remark of Burnet will stand good, that “they who subscribed, did either believe, or grossly prevaricate.” The following are the concluding remarks of the Bishop of Lincoln’s *Elements of Theology*:

“I have thus endeavoured to explain the meaning of ‘the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion,’ and to prove that they are founded in Scripture, and conformable to the opinions of the early Christians. All persons, when they enter into holy orders, or are admitted to any ecclesiastical cure or benefice, are required by law to subscribe these articles, with a design that those who are employed in the ministry of our established church, whether as curates or incumbents, should unfeignedly believe the truth of the doctrines which they contain. ‘The avoiding of diversities of

But we do not suppose that this profligate evasion of a most solemn engagement has credit enough to be practised. They who, rejecting the doctrinal views of Calvin, profess assent or promise conformity to these articles, have persuaded themselves, we doubt not, that they admit an anti-Calvinistic interpretation; *admit*, we say, for nobody claims any thing more. But this gives us occasion to remark, how mischievous and futile a thing at once is this imposition of doctrinal tests. When the framers of the articles had gone through their work, they thought they had built a fabric which the blind doctrine of destiny might dwell securely in for ever. But another generation found out

opinion, and the establishing of consent touching true religion,' was the professed object of these articles; and consequently they lose their effect, if they do not produce a general agreement among such as subscribe them. 'I do willingly and ex animo subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England,' is the indispensable form of subscription; and therefore it behoves every one, before he offers himself a candidate for holy orders, to peruse carefully the articles of our church, and to compare them with the written Word of God. If, upon mature examination, he believes them to be authorized by Scripture, he may conscientiously subscribe them; but if, on the contrary, he thinks that he sees reason to dissent from any of the doctrines asserted in them, no hope of emolument or honour, no dread of inconvenience or disappointment, should induce him to express his solemn assent to propositions, which in fact he does not believe. It is not indeed necessary that he should approve every word or expression, but he ought to believe all the fundamental doctrines, of the articles; all those tenets in which our church differs from other churches, or from other sects of Christians. He ought to feel that he can from his own conviction maintain the purity of our established religion, and sincerely and zealously enforce those points of faith and practice, which our church declares to be the revealed will of God. This appears to me the only just ground of conscientious subscription to the articles; and let it be ever remembered, that in a business of this serious and important nature, no species whatever of evasion, subterfuge, or reserve, is to be allowed, or can be practised, without imminent danger of incurring the wrath of God. The articles are to be subscribed in their plain and obvious sense, and assent is to be given to them simply and unequivocally. Thus only can a person offer himself at the table of the Lord as his minister with safety; thus only can he expect to receive the divine blessing upon that course of life to which he then solemnly devotes himself."

that Calvinism was a mistake, and then the question came up, how heterodoxy and conformity should be reconciled. Silence was the first natural resort. They would say nothing of their heresy to others, and acknowledge it as faintly as possible to themselves. But out of the fulness of the heart the mouth will speak at length. And the deviation from the supposed church doctrine being notorious, yet the church standing too pleasant a thing to be needlessly relinquished, the experiment was thought worth trying, whether there could not be brought about a persuasion, that the established credenda were less strict than they had seemed to be; and forthwith the best selected words were found to be equivocal, and the best certified history brought into doubt. By and by came a sagacious man, who saw that the knot was too cunningly contrived to be thus untied, and that they who were working so intently at it, were but entangling themselves with its threads; and as he would not suffer it to bind him, he took a shorter way and cut it. Thus right views on one subject have gained a footing in the church, and with such fair shew of being guests regularly introduced, that conscientious men within the church make no scruple to do them reverence; and thus, after much delay, and by much management, and at great cost of plain dealing, and great distress to good men, the same object is at length effected, which, but for these nuisances of creeds, might have been accomplished in a fair open manner long ago. Truth will not be defeated by such feeble obstacles. If shut out from the broad, direct road where it would rather travel in daylight, it will force a path through briars and morasses, or dig a subterranean passage. It has an unconquerable instinct of activity, and onward it will urge a direct, or a winding way. Creeds are leaden shackles,—heavy, but flexible. As soon as they begin to gall, the sufferer finds means to stretch them, and they keep on to widen, till at last they fall off. They are nets, however industriously spun, of spider's web;—of power to confine the puny insect to

be tortured, but the stronger prisoner breaks them through. They are mischievous, because they delay the progress of truth, and force it into a circuitous path which it would gladly avoid. And they are futile, because it will find a way, to whatever inconvenience it may put its followers. It were as promising an attempt to dam the ocean, or hold a comet with a kite-string, as to confine truth with such shreds as these. Such as has been their uniform effect, such, so long as they remain blended with human error, will it always be; one generation will believe, another will qualify and explain, and a third renounce them; and we would venture to predict on the general ground, even though we were far less authorized by recent appearances, that they who live some hundred years hence may read two volumes of elements, written in the sacred theology chair of the Andover institution, to show that the creed of that seminary frowns on the Assembly's Catechism, and that Bartlett and Spring were excellent Arminians.

The last two letters of Mr. Sparks are on *the doctrine of the trinity*. They contain an able statement of the argument, and happy illustrations of some difficult texts; and are particularly full on the subject of the two natures united in our Saviour. They are in effect a separate work on the subject, and as such we shall be happy at some future time to find an opportunity to recur them.

From the glance we have given at its history, we may remark how unreasonable is the attempt made to excite a feeling of veneration for the English church, as the representative of Protestantism. We have more than once heard it called "the oldest daughter of the protestant reformation." It was no child of the reformation; but the birth of an unblessed union between decrepid superstition and immature reason. Or if a daughter, it was like the thankless daughters of Lear. It had the spirit of a parricide. It drove the reformation out from its shelter to abide the "pelting of the pitiless storm," and we may thank a younger

branch of the family, that it did not perish there.—The English church delayed the progress of the reformation. The mind rose, when the light of a better day shone upon it, but one step from its deathlike posture. Prelacy watched it, and weighed it down with a load of fetters, which to this day its convulsive struggles have not wholly shaken off.—It broke the spirit of the reformation. It was as noble, pure, self devoting a spirit as ever religion kindled. But prelacy brought store of mitres, and corrupted it.—It oppressed the friends of the reformation. The best scholars, preachers, and men in the nation, deprived of their cures, forbidden to say a word for the great cause of protestantism, to which they had devoted their lives and were ready to resign them, shut up in English prisons, exiled to a precarious toleration on the continent, or living in contented destitution of almost all things in America, are vouchers of the dear filial love, which the church of England bore the reformation.

We say this not invidiously. (God forbid we should wish to wound,) but to meet an unmeaning appeal often made. Let the episcopal church in America make its election. If it considers itself a distinct body from that in England, let it answer to no charges except what affect itself; but then let it take such rank as its own deserts may warrant, and not claim a stock of merit bequeathed to it by English worthies. If on the other hand, it will stay itself on the reputation of the English establishment, let it be bold and consistent, and assume that reputation in a mass. This it may find perhaps to be rather a burden, than a prop. The history of that establishment, is, to too great an extent to be subject of boasting, a history of selfishness, chicanery, and violence. From the time when Henry VIII. from a bad lust of power, organized a religious authority dependent on the royal will, or from a meaner passion threw off subjection to the papal see, till the passing of the needlessly cruel act of uniformity, under Charles II. the infamous law which deprived protestant England



in one day, of the services of two thousand men, the best boast of the protestant name, and with a more wanton severity exiled them beyond the reach of those, who would have stood between them and starvation,\*—it is a history of unrelenting strictness when in power, and of abject artifice, and false professions in disgrace. Since then, through some changes of fortune, and with the loss of the power of persecuting, wrested from it by the growth of better principles in politics, it has continued,—doubtless with the exceptions which excellent individuals make in every such community,—to breathe the haughty, obstinate, exclusive and indolent spirit of an establishment; and the last act of public importance, by which it is known, was the refusing to the worthiest members

\* "Have you never read, what desolations *Laud* brought upon our fathers, whilst yet in your church? How many hundreds of them were sequestered, driven from their livings, excommunicated, persecuted in the high-commission court, and forced to leave the kingdom for not *punctually conforming* to all the ceremonies and rites; and not daring to tell their people, that they might lawfully profane the sabbath by gambols and sports; and to publish from their pulpits the permission of the King to break the command of God—And yet you ask—*Were your fathers ever persecuted while they continued in the church?*"

"Pray! what was it peopled the savage deserts of *North America*? Was it not the thousands of persecuted and oppressed families, who fled from tyrannising Bishops? Who not being suffered to worship quietly in their native country, as their consciences directed; sought a peaceful retreat from the rage of their Fellow-Christians, amongst more hospitable Indians.—To omit a thousand acts of cruelty, which through several successive reigns our fathers suffered not only from, but when actually in the Church.—Did she not at last, in a most arbitrary and unrighteous manner cast out at once above two thousand of them, excellent and pious ministers, and abandon them, and their starving families, to great poverty and distress? To heighten that distress, did not your Church,—banish them five miles from any city, burrough, or church in which they had before served: and thereby put them at a proper distance from their acquaintance and friends, who might minister to their relief? Did she not by another Act forbid their meeting to worship God, any where but in your own churches, under the penalties of heavy fines, imprisonments, and banishment to foreign lands?"

"In consequence of these cruel Acts, were not vast numbers of

of its communion release from a useless obligation, which it went against their consciences to take. This let the American church, if it ever be disposed to think with complacency of its parentage, remember; and let it remember, that, if the church, with the Puritans beside it, made a noble stand against the pope, it turned, as soon as it was safe, to grind its ally to powder with the civil arm. If it claims any inherited praise for a doctrine less extravagant, and an intelligible worship, let its forehead crimson for three hundred excellent ministers, (and Robinson of Leyden among them, deprived for scruples about a hood and surplice. And if it will take pride in the piety and learning of Tillotson and Burnet, let it allow some

*pious clergymen*, our forefathers, (once the *glory* of your Church) with multitudes of their people, laid in prisons among thieves and common malefactors, where they suffered the greatest hardships, indignities, oppressions; their houses were rifled, their goods made a prey to hungry informers, and their families given up to beggary and want. 'An estimate was published of near *eight thousand* Protestant *Dissenters*, who had perished in prison in the reign only of *Charles II.* By severe penalties inflicted on them, for assembling to worship God, they suffered in their trade, and estates in the compass of a few years, at least two millions; and a list of *sixty thousand* persons was taken, who had suffered on a religious account, betwixt the *Restoration* and the *Revolution*.'"—Behold, the groans and the blood of myriads of oppressed *Puritans*, which cry beneath the altar, *How long, O Lord!* But you are *deaf* to all their groans—And with insensibility enough ask—*Were your fathers ever persecuted?*—

"'But the Presbyterian and Independent Churches have each in their day of power, discovered as much, and indeed *more* of that Spirit.' Too much of that *evil Spirit*, it is acknowledged, they have *each* shewn. But surely there is *no comparison* betwixt the cruelties and oppressions of your Church, and of theirs. Your *little finger has been thicker than their loins*.'"—Dissenting Gentlemen's Letters, p. 82—84.

Acts of Parliament were the artillery of the establishment. Its small arms discharged such missiles as these, in a tract ascribed to archbishop Parker, and quoted by Neal, i. 572. He calls the

\* Vid. Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. p. 554.

† The English presbyterians and independents are not to be acquitted of a persecuting spirit, but their acts of oppression were of a much milder character. Cromwell's ordinance for ejecting *scandalous, ignorant and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters* (passed in 1654) allowed to the party ejected a convenient time for his removal, and reserved *three fifths* for the support of his family. There is no religious tyranny of his on record like that of the Act of Uniformity.

abatement to be made from such pretensions, for the atrocities that "damn to everlasting fame" the memory of Laud.

In this country, a country reserved as it seems by providence, for the last experiment, whether man can bear and consent to be free, good, intelligent, and happy, whether those principles may yet prevail which have hitherto been kept down by his ignorance, his vices and his pride, it is not perhaps much to be feared that institutions, the poor relic of a catholic and feudal age, the naked marrowless skeleton of the gaudy thing they were, should ever gain a permanent establishment. They seem to have no congeniality with the spirit of the times. They grow in an unpropitious soil, and when the sun is up, will be scorched, and because they have no root will wither away. But if we should prove to be deceived in this,—if here too the best hopes of philanthropy were doomed to be again struck down, if hither too religion, pure and undefiled, should be pursued,—pursued to her last retreat, where, for the sake of rendering a spontaneous obedience, and breathing an unfettered prayer, she was willing to sit at her board with famine, and lay herself to rest on rocks, we trust that the spirit will not be dead which spoke in the words of one of our own divines,—“if the land will not help the woman, let her go into another wilderness.”

non-conformists “schismatics, bellie-gods, decevers, flatterers, fools, such as have been unlearnedlie brought up in profan occupations; puffed up in arrogancie of themselves, chargeable to vanities of assertions: of whom it is feared that they make posthast to be anabaptists and libertines, gone out from us; but belike never of us; differing not much from donatists, shrinking and refusing ministers of *London*; disturbers, factious, wilful entanglers, and encumberers of the consciences of their herers, girders, nippers, scoffers, biters, snappers at superiors, having the spirit of irony, like to audiani, smelling of donatistrie, or of papistrie, rogatians, circumcellians, and pelegians.”

THE END.

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2

A

# SERMON

PREACHED TO THE

CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE,

IN TWO PARTS,

JULY 18, 1824.

BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.  
PASTOR OF THAT CHURCH.

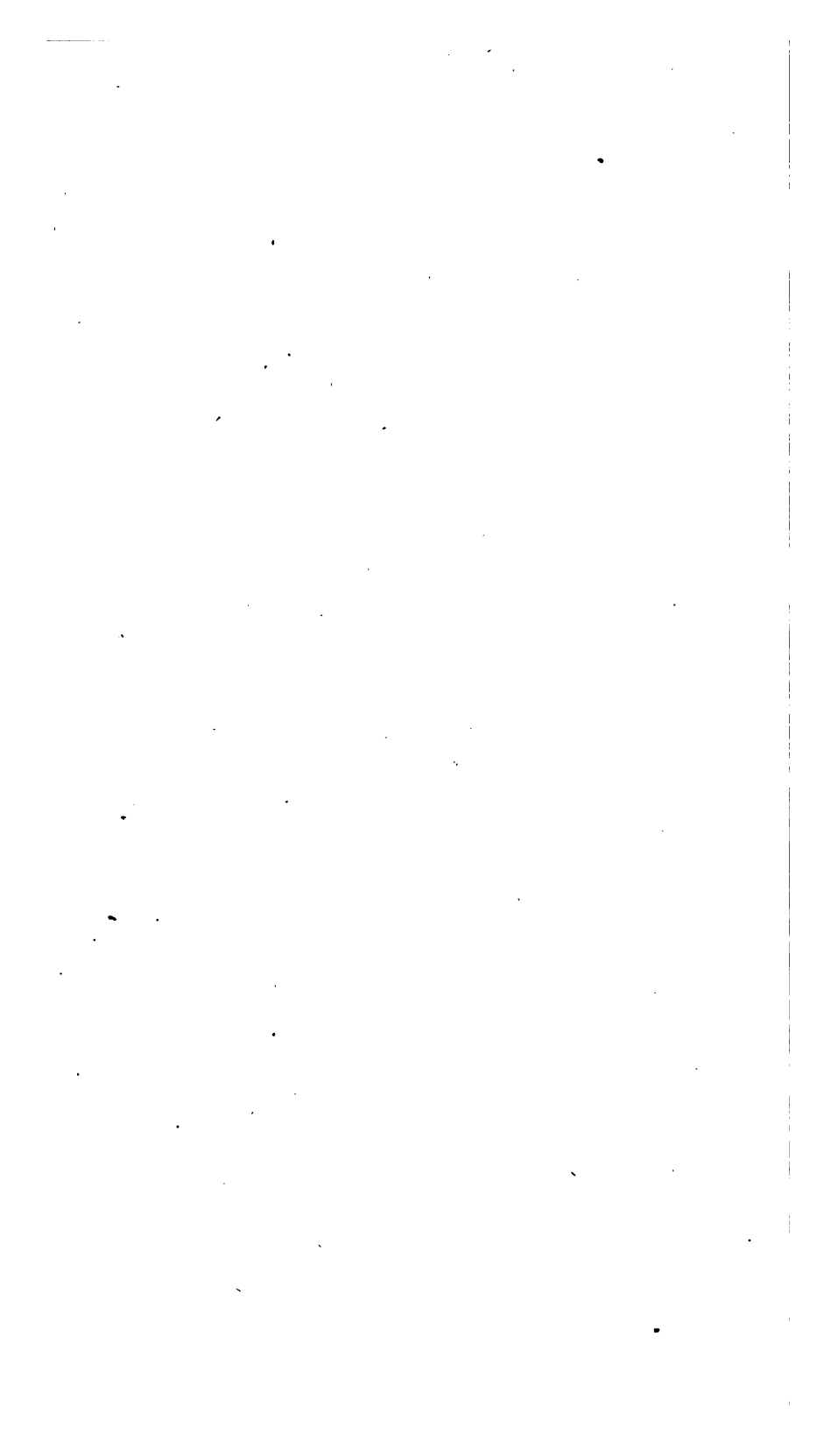
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**THIS** publication has been delayed by hindrances, which it is unnecessary to particularize. From the circumstances, under which it is now made, it is not impossible that some inaccuracies may have escaped notice.

**JUNE 28, 1825.**

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# SERMON.



1 KINGS, VIII. 57.

THE LORD OUR GOD BE WITH US, AS HE WAS WITH OUR FATHERS;  
LET HIM NOT LEAVE US, NOR FORSAKE US.

It is with even greater satisfaction than at the time of our separation I anticipated, that I welcome your return, my friends, to this consecrated place. To many of us our temporary absence has shown more sensibly than ever the strength of the ties that attach us to it. We have become indebted to the Christian hospitality of our brethren for all which was in the power of hospitality; and we have been privileged to hear from other pulpits impressive lessons of duty, which may cause this separation from the accustomed scene of our solemnities to be blessed to many of our souls. But we could not forget, that to be a subject of the kindest hospitality is to be absent from one's home; and, in circumstances otherwise the most favourable to devotion, we have missed the familiar objects with which the services of publick devotion had been associated in our minds. The free spirit of Christian worship, it is true, does not confine itself to places any more than to forms; but yet it is natural, that it should glow with a warmer ardour, and mount with a more vigorous flight, where *prayer has been wont to be made*. It is natural and right, that the place should be endeared to a pious mind, where its humble

supplications have been offered, its generous desires excited, its virtuous purposes inspired. Attachment to God's word and ordinances is nearly allied with attachment to his house; and the sentiment is greatly strengthened, if the scene of our social devotions has been the scene of events honourable to a religious institution, and betokening the smiles of Heaven. This peculiar reason for attachment to the place of our worship, it is only necessary to look into its history to see that we possess; and it is so desirable for the religious institution, with which we are connected, to have a hold on our affections, that I should do wrong to lose the opportunity to prove the reasonableness, and, if it may be, secure the permanency of the emotions excited in many minds this day, by showing, from a retrospect of the fortunes of this Church, how graciously *the Lord, our God hath been* in times past *with our fathers*.

We trace this Church of our fathers to an honourable origin. Its establishment was not owing, like that of too many others, to dissension among fellow worshippers, nor even to so unimportant a cause as preference for the services of a popular individual. It was gathered in the spirit of conscientious adherence to truly enlightened views of Christian order. At the period when its founders associated themselves, there were three churches in this town, besides one congregation of the Baptist sect, and one of the Episcopalian. (1.) In these churches the early customs and prejudices of New England still maintained their ascendancy. Calvinism was preached in its primitive rigour. The communicants exercised a distinct and original jurisdiction in church affairs. Candidates for admission to the Lord's supper were required to recount in publick their religious experiences; and the well-founded feeling of dislike to the Church of England was carried to such a length, that the reading of the Scriptures, and the use of the Lord's prayer

were banished from the publick services, because they were embraced in the prelatical forms.

The spirit of the age, however, had insensibly moderated from that of a half century before; and when non-conformity was partially rescued from its discredit at the accession of King William, it lost at once something of its pertinacity. A few enlightened men, who perceived the opportunity and importance of adopting some publick measures in correspondence with the more mild and liberal views, which had begun to prevail, associated themselves together for the establishment of this Church. The deed by which they became possessed of a piece of land for the erection of a place of worship, is dated January 10, 1698. 'In consideration of the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds,' and 'for other good causes and considerations thereunto moving' him, it conveys from Thomas Brattle to twenty persons associated with himself, a piece of land, called *Brattle's Close*, which has since been extended on two sides by purchases of the Society, and at different times considerably abridged upon one for the convenience of the town. (2.) Upon this land they proceeded to erect a house for worship, which they completed in the autumn of the following year.

Some of the *undertakers*, as they style themselves, of this Church, were gentlemen in publick office, and all appear to have been persons of character and weight in society. Their plan of order and worship, however, was so novel as to subject them to much jealousy from the neighbouring churches; and they found it necessary to explain themselves in a paper, entitled, A Manifesto or Declaration set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church, now erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17, 1699. In this paper, while they declare, that they 'approve and subscribe the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster;' that they 'design only the true and pure

worship of God, according to the rules appearing plainly to them 'in his Word;' that they sincerely desire and intend 'to hold communion with the churches here as true churches, and openly protest against all suspicion and jealousy to the contrary, as most injurious' to them ;—they go on to say, that they 'judge it most suitable and convenient,' that, in 'the publick worship, some part of the Holy Scripture be read by the minister at his discretion.' They profess, that they 'dare not refuse' baptism 'to any child offered by any professed Christian, upon his engagement to see it educated, if God give life and ability, in the Christian religion. But this being a ministerial act,' they 'think it the pastor's province to receive such professions and engagements.' 'We judge it fitting and expedient,' they say, 'that whoever would be admitted to partake with us in the Holy Sacrament, be accountable to the pastor, to whom it belongs to inquire into their knowledge and spiritual state, and to require the renewal of their baptismal covenant. But we assume not to ourselves to impose upon any a publick relation of their experiences; however, if any one think himself bound in conscience to make such a relation, let him do it. For we conceive it sufficient, if the pastor publicly declare himself satisfied in the person offered to our communion, and seasonably propound him.' 'Finally, we cannot confine the right of choosing a minister to the communicants alone; but we think that every baptized adult person, who contributes to the maintenance, should have a vote in electing.' (3.)

At this distance of time, it appears to us extraordinary, that such views as these should have brought great odium on their assertors; but the acrimonious spirit of dissension about the lesser matters of the law, which is not yet at rest, wrought at that period far more busily. To some persons the scheme seemed to savour strongly of Presbyterianism, while others apprehended it to be little better than Episcopacy in disguise. A work of President Mather on the

Order of the Gospel, soon appeared, which was understood to have reference to the new Church, and was followed by an able anonymous reply. Higginson and Hubbard are also understood to refer to this controversy in their Testimony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New England, published in 1701. (4.)

The associates had, meantime, been making arrangements for a permanent ministry; and in the summer of 1699, had sent a call to Mr. Benjamin Colman, then in London. Mr. Colman was a native of this town, and educated at the neighbouring University. He had been absent four years in England, where he had preached in different places to great acceptance, and been distinguished by the friendship of Bates, Calamy, Howe, and other eminent dissenting ministers. His friends, apprehending difficulty in obtaining ordination for him at home, on account of the odium under which they laboured, advised him to ask it in England, and the solemnity accordingly took place in London, August 4, 1699. (5.) In the following November he arrived among his people, and the next month began to preach in what he calls their 'pleasant new-built house.' No other minister assisted him, as was usual on such occasions; but, influenced either by their better feelings, by the established character of the associates, or by the certainty that the enterprise was no longer at a stage to be discouraged, the ministers of the town soon after acceded to the request of this Church, to keep a day of prayer with it 'for publick imploring the presence of God, his pardon and blessing.' December 12, fourteen brethren, 'after solemn calling upon God, declared their consent and agreement to walk together in all the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The ordinance of the Lord's supper was first administered February 4, 1700, and fifteen other communicants were that day added. (6.)



The Church, thus established, grew rapidly in numbers, and, there is reason to believe, no less so *in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. The principles on which it was founded were such, as could scarcely fail to make their way with the better order of minds; the associates were men, with whom it was natural to desire to be connected in the relation of fellow-worshippers; and probably, too, the less obtrusive orthodoxy of Colman was not without its charm to those who had been used to the stern mysticism of Willard, or the pedantick puerilities of Cotton Mather. Dr. Colman wanted no qualification to be an attractive and profitable preacher. He was a man liberally endowed by nature, and his preparation for the pulpit had been laborious and thorough. He had ardent feelings, and they were heartily engaged in his work. In addition to these more important qualifications, his taste in composition was so far in advance of that of his cotemporaries, that he is considered as having introduced a new style in the preaching of the Massachusetts clergy. And to all these recommendations, was added a manner in the pulpit of uncommon dignity, persuasiveness and grace.

In little more than two years after the settlement of their first pastor, the Society proposed to furnish him with permanent assistance; and, with this view, turned their attention to Mr. Eliphalet Adams, a gentleman graduated at the University in 1694. The project led to some 'uncomfortable church meetings,' as they are called in the records, without a detailed account of them. Mr. Adams withdrew after preaching here two years and a half, and was afterwards settled in New London, Connecticut. This is the only dissension in this Church, which its annals record, during the century and a quarter of its existence. (7.)

I find no other attempt recorded (8.) to obtain stated assistance for Dr. Colman, till the year 1715, when Mr. William Cooper was invited to settle as his colleague, and

accepted the call on the condition,—which was allowed,—that he should be excused ‘from engaging presently in a constant course of preaching, it being a very early day with him.’ After officiating with the Society once a fortnight for nearly a year, he was ordained May 23, 1716. (9.) Within five years after, though at what precise period does not appear, the number of worshippers had increased so much as to require additional accommodations; and these were provided by erecting an additional building, containing pews on the floor and a gallery, behind the pulpit.

The colleagues continued to labour with great harmony, fidelity, and success, till December 14, 1743, when Cooper was suddenly taken to his reward. (10.) It was now the chief earthly wish of the surviving pastor, already sinking beneath the infirmities of threescore years and ten, that the flock he had gathered, and so long guided, should not be left *as sheep without a shepherd*. In another year his wish was answered, by the election of Mr. Samuel Cooper into his late father’s office. (11.) Dr. Colman had now *finished the work given him to do*, and was called home, August 29, 1747, in his seventy-fourth year. (12.)

Among the worthies of the Massachusetts clergy, we can perhaps select no character, which we may regard with more thorough esteem, than that of Dr. Colman; and not much more may be said of any man. If his mind was not of that class, by which great revolutions are produced in the intellectual or social world, it was still one of uncommon comprehensiveness, penetration, wisdom, and activity; and it had been cultivated by an enlarged acquaintance with books and men. His writings, besides giving token to a liberal spirit, a well disciplined understanding, various knowledge, and a warm heart, show, for the period in which they were produced, a remarkable acquaintance with the true beauties of composition. To nature and to opportunity he was probably alike indebted for a manly and winning

address. Yet, formed as he was for the admiration of a community like this, by a union of accomplishments separately possessed by very few, he rose above the ambition of being eminent to the ambition of being useful. With all his powers to impress and attract, he was not a man to be content with the notoriety, which consists in being followed by the tasteful, and applauded by the talkative. Like every other man, who thinks it better to be serviceable than to be flattered, he gave himself much to occupations, of which fame takes no cognizance. He was industrious, as every man needs to be, who would make himself felt while he lives, and remembered when he dies. He possessed a truly kind heart, as is shown by his generous treatment of Mather, (13.) a man, whose character, intellectual and moral, has been sometimes astonishingly overrated; by his constant affection for his colleague, whose views were sometimes different from his own, and who was not a person very easy to differ from without estranging; (14.) and by the truly parental attachment, which, after his colleague's death, he transferred to his son.—He was a man of liberal public spirit, and of active and enlarged benevolence. The poor of his charge always found in him a brotherly attention to their wants. The town was his debtor for improvements, which he hazarded his popularity to effect. (15.) The College, besides owing, in great part, to his influence the brilliant presidency of Leverett, and the bounty of the Hollises and Holdens, (16.) was indebted to him through a course of years for various services, not more honourable and important than laborious.—He was animated by the distinguishing spirit of Christian philanthropy, and desired to do extensive good to the souls of men. It was at his instance, that this Church, and others of the town, voted to make a contribution, twice in each year, to form what was called an *Evangelical Treasury*, (17.) devoted to the extension of the knowledge and influence of religion.—He was

a man, finally, of true piety, proved in a series of domestick trials, some of a kind the hardest to be borne ; (18.) in the zealous services of a successful ministry, and by the uniform tenour of a sober, righteous, and godly life. Dr. Chauncy remarked of him, in a private letter,\* that ‘his character would have been greater, could it have been said of him, that he excelled as much in strength of reason and firmness of mind, as in many other good qualities.’ But I am fain to attribute this remark to that stern, not to say morose, judgment of character, for which its author was so noted. Dr. Colman certainly did many things, which men without energy, and resources too, are not apt to accomplish or attempt; and I can find nothing which gives a colour to this stricture, unless it be his conduct in relation to the excitement produced in this neighbourhood, during his ministry, by Whitefield and the Methodists. His course, on this occasion, certainly does not seem to have been in perfect accordance with his usual penetrating good sense; and if, as I suspect, he suffered his better judgment to be overruled in this instance by the more sanguine temperament of his colleague, the weakness would have been likely to give peculiar offence to Dr. Chauncy, who was himself the chief antagonist of the fanatics.

With all his excellencies and publick services, however, Dr. Colman was not so fortunate as to be a universal favourite. Whether it was that he was thought to affect too much the society of the great, or merely that the odium excited by the innovations of his Church upon the established ecclesiastical order never wholly subsided during his life, or less generous aspirants had poisoned the publick ear against him, it is certain that there were, from time to time, manifestations of a popular sentiment respecting him, such as we should little expect to discover. Whether or not the

\* Historical Collections, X. First Series. 157.

argument of the resident members of the College in 1722, that none but residents were eligible to the corporation, was sustained by the representatives in the General Court from motives of personal dislike to Dr. Colman, no other account is to be given of their refusing to vote his salary when he was chosen president in 1724, and thus compelling him to decline the office. (19.) What he did not receive from favour, however, he always secured by wise conduct, or resigned with equanimity; and though desirous, like all good men, of the esteem of others, he does not appear to have been particularly solicitous for the partial regard of any but his people.

His first colleague was a man, in some respects, of a different stamp. Dr. Colman was attached to the Genevan doctrine, as, with his parentage and subsequent connexions, it would have been wonderful, if he had not been. But he seemed to have outstripped his age, and to have risen almost to the ground of that venerable race of men, now nearly extinct, which, within the last half century, have borne the name of *moderate Calvinists*. William Cooper, on the other hand, loved Calvinism in all its austerity, extravagance and tumult. In the writings of Colman, the orthodox doctrines are all along implied, and, as occasion required, explicitly stated. But, in those of Cooper, they are introduced on system and with relish; in all their intricacy and all their repulsiveness; in season and out of season; in the dedication, the preface, the private letter, and the funeral sermon. He had less copiousness of thought than his colleague, less skill in the use of language, and far less felicity of illustration and allusion. But he wrote with method, propriety, fervour and force, and, without any extraordinary qualifications for a popular preacher, was always listened to with interest; for he was familiar with the religious technicks of his school, he knew how to exhibit them with strength and all the clearness which they allowed,

and he made it apparent that his heart was in his work. He was a laborious and devoted minister. No one of the clergy was more engaged in defending and keeping up what was called the awakening of 1741—1742; (20.) and he was happy in not living to be undeceived, by seeing in this Church, as in others, the season of extraordinary excitement followed by a season of as extraordinary deadness. But, in cases where his judgment was not misled by his theories, he was a wise as well as sincere and zealous man. If he ever seemed to love power, it appears to have been not so much for any selfish end, as because he persuaded himself, that he needed it for the furtherance of religion. He resembled his colleague only in his ministerial character, and did not, like him, engage in other occupations than such as had the most immediate bearing upon the religious interests of his people and the church at large. He declined the presidency of the College rather than be separated from his charge; and their demonstrations of mourning at his death show the truest attachment and grief. (21.)

The ministry of Samuel Cooper had but just begun, when he lost the friendship and counsel of his and his father's venerable associate. (22.) He was a young man of great promise, which his subsequent life in no degree discredited. He had been known to the Society from his childhood. He had had the advantage of the prayers, instructions and example of a most pious and watchful parent. He had come from College with a blameless character and a high literary reputation, and he had inherited his father's place in the heart of the venerable shepherd of the flock. He had not begun to preach when the Society turned their attention to a supply of the vacant office; but partly, as it seems, through the influence of Dr. Colman, he was invited to officiate here as soon as his studies should be completed. December 31, 1744, he was elected colleague pastor; and having made a request similar

to his father's on the like occasion, was ordained, and entered on the active duties of his cure in the second following year, May 21, 1746. (23.)

The life of Dr. Cooper was one of various and conspicuous usefulness. His education, from the first, had been a suitable preparation for eminence; nor were his advantages wasted on an unpromising subject. Nature had marked him out for a leading man. Acuteness, vivacity, versatility, decision, and the capacity of severe application, were prominent characteristicks of his mind. In addition to a person uncommonly dignified and engaging, and a most melodious voice, he possessed in remarkable perfection what seemed a natural fluency and grace, and he had cultivated the arts of writing and speaking with laborious assiduity. If not enjoying the reputation of being extensively learned, he was, however, familiar with the best writers, and was always found in possession of the information which the exigency required. To less uncommon endowments, he joined an address, and what is called a *talent for affairs*, which, if he had not been the leading divine, would perhaps have distinguished him as the most accomplished gentleman and adroit statesman of his country and time. He filled the clerical office at a period when it had not ceased to be understood to give the right and opportunity to exert an important influence in publick affairs; and, in the revolutionary movements of this quarter, he had an agency scarcely second to any man's. He was the confidential friend of Adams, Hancock, and other leading spirits of the time. It was to him that the famous letters of Hutchinson were transmitted, which kindled such a flame against the English ministry and their government here; and among the writings which alternately stimulated and checked the publick mind in that season of stormy excitement, there were perhaps none of greater efficiency

than those of Dr. Cooper. If other hands launched the lightning, his guided the cloud. (24.)

But it is chiefly of his ministerial character that I ought here to speak. With such gifts as those of Dr. Cooper, it was impossible that a good man should not be eminently useful in his chosen and peculiar sphere of labour. Unhappily the Church records do not furnish materials for estimating the success of his ministry, having been almost entirely neglected by him in the midst of his various cares. It is certain, however, that his preaching was attended with as great interest, to say the least, as that of any of his cotemporaries; and that his Society was numerous, and comprehended a large number of distinguished citizens. His published sermons,—methodical, elaborate, animated, and impressive,—would certainly be ranked, in this better day of pulpit eloquence, as productions of unusual merit. It has perhaps been sometimes taken for granted, by persons not particularly acquainted with his habits, that the active part, which he took in political concerns, must have interfered with the punctual discharge of his pastoral duties. But of this, no doubt, his parishioners were best able to judge; and I do not find that such an impression concerning him exists in the minds of the small remnant of them, who survive. On the contrary, I find strong traces of the respect and affection, with which his parochial services inspired them; and, while his name appears to the publick view prominent upon the records of patriotism, in the memory of his religious associates it is embalmed no less in the odour of sanctity. (25.)

Dr. Cooper, like his predecessors, died suddenly; December 29, 1783. It was about ten years before his death, when the house, in which we are now worshipping, was erected. In the progress of more than seventy years, the old church, which was of wood, having ‘fallen,’ as it is expressed, ‘into a ruinous and decayed state,’ several opu-



lent individuals of the Society made liberal offers of aid in rebuilding it. The old house was occupied for the last time May 10, 1772, (26.) when Dr. Cooper preached from Psalms cii. 14, *Thy servants take pleasure in her stories, and favour the dust thereof.* The Society was indebted to the First Church for accommodation in publick worship, till July 25, 1773, when this house was opened. Dr. Cooper preached in the morning, from Genesis xxviii. 17; *This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven ;* and Dr. Chauncy in the afternoon, from Psalms xxvi. 8, *I have loved the habitation of thine house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth.* (27.)

I have brought down the history of this Church to a period within the recollection of some of my hearers, and shall resume it in the afternoon.

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**THE** account, which I attempted this morning, of the Church in this place, brought down its history to the death of its third pastor. Subsequent events are within the personal acquaintance of several who hear me. To others, however, they are less known, and to none of us is it an uninteresting employment to revive the recollections associated with this sacred place.

With a view to fill the office vacated by the death of Dr. Cooper, the attention of the Society was turned to Rev. Mr. Thacher of Malden. The preference created by Mr. Thacher's established professional reputation and peculiar eloquence, might not improbably be strengthened by regard to the earnest part he had taken in the late revolutionary struggle, and possibly, even, by partiality for a

name, than which there is none more illustrious in the annals of the New England ministry. Mr. Thacher had no sooner been introduced to the sacred office at Malden, which was so early as his nineteenth year, than he acquired a popularity so great, that it is recorded of him, that 'no young man ever preached to such crowded assemblies.\* From his childhood he had devoted himself to the ministry of religion; and his whole mind, as it was expanded, had formed itself to this work. To rapid and clear conceptions, a temper equally affectionate and frank, a lively imagination, and a nice sensibility, he added the recommendations of a commanding presence, and a voice of extraordinary melody and compass. His preaching was direct, practical and earnest; and, like each of his predecessors in this place, he is represented to have possessed, in singular excellence, the gift of prayer. 'Whitefield called him the young Elijah.\* His fame had been extended by the circulation of some sermons, and a few other occasional works, which he had published; but he is said to have owed his remarkable popularity not more to his evident piety and zeal, and the power of his mind and style, than to the graces of a most captivating elocution. The negotiations which, on the part of this Society, were entered into with the parish in Malden, and which, though intended to be conducted with the most guarded delicacy, did not wholly fail to excite dissatisfaction, (28.) terminated in the amicable dissolution of Mr. Thacher's connexion with his church, and he was installed here January 12, 1785. (29.) His faithful and acceptable services, through a period of nearly twenty years, many of you, my brethren, remember with affectionate and grateful interest. Though never inattentive to the numerous more publick demands upon his talents and time, he made his spiritual charge the chief scene of his labours, and was

\* Historical Collections, VIII. First Series. 280.

peculiarly useful and valued in the private duties of the pastoral care. Though, in the earlier part of his course, a resolute champion for the harsher doctrines of orthodoxy, his maturer years reformed his youthful judgments. He stood, in the latter part of his life, on ground like that of the late Dr. Osgood and Dr. Lathrop; and his ministry here was no doubt overruled to favour that happy change in religious sentiment, which has since taken place. This Church, always prosperous, has scarcely ever been more so than while under his care. We shall perceive that this is saying much, when we remember that a great part of his ministry was passed in that most depressed and perilous period, which religion in New England ever witnessed,—the period of the French revolutions; and his memory is most gratefully to be honoured, who, having access, at such a season, to minds which controlled the publick opinion, engaged and secured their influence in favour of all that is most valuable to men.

Dr. Thacher died, December 16, 1802, at Savannah in Georgia, whither he had gone in ineffectual search of relief from a lingering pulmonary consumption. (30.) His successor was the late Mr. Buckminster, who was ordained January 30, 1805, and died suddenly, June 9, 1812. (31.) In the sentiments of love and veneration, with which his memory is cherished, I can more entirely sympathize. Of other wise and good men, who have ministered in this place, I have only read and been informed. Him I have heard and known; and who, that has heard him, has not thenceforward found religion invested in his mind with a beauty unknown before? He was in truth a singularly gifted man; of a judgment discriminating, independent and exact; of a fancy profuse of images of the grand and lovely; of a various and accurate learning; of a sensibility keenly alive to the importance of truth, and the dangers and obligations of men; of a pure and fervid zeal; of a

truly heavenly spirit. He was formed to interest men in religion; to win them and attach them to it. No one could look on his intellectual beauty,—no one could hear the softest tone of his rich voice,—without loving the spirit that dwelt in the expression of them both. He spoke to solemnize the levity of the young, and inform the wisdom of age; to shake the sinner's purpose, and bind up in the softest balm of consolation the wounds of the Christian's heart. Those of us, who have heard him, with a force and feeling all his own, plead the claims of our religion, describe its value, and disclose its hopes, may not expect, while we live, to witness any thing approaching nearer to what we imagine of a prophet's or an angel's inspiration. He was one of those, who seem appointed to the high and needful office of conciliating to religion the minds of intellectual and tasteful men. God does not abandon them in the mazes of their reasoning pride, nor leave them to lay the flattering unction to their souls, that ignorance is the parent of devotion; but, from time to time, prepares for them splendid proof, such as this was, that

‘Piety hath found

Friends in the friends of learning, and true pray’r

Hath flow’d from lips wet with Castalian dews.’

Such a combination as is presented in the character of a man eminent at once in Christian graces and in human accomplishments, has a vast efficacy to make religion understood and prized. Religion sanctifies the latter, and shows their proper uses; and, in turn, is itself nobly recommended, by being exhibited in this imposing and attractive union.

Nor in regard alone to the services directly rendered by him to religion, was this lamented man a publick benefactor. His mind was one of those, which leave a broad impress on the character of the times. The weight of his influence, and the more powerful attraction of his example, gave an impulse to the cause of good learning, of which we are daily

witnessing more and more brilliant consequences. But these were not the cares the nearest to his heart. Though followed by an admiration too enthusiastick for a man of less singleness of mind to bear without being led astray from his appropriate work, here was the scene of his favourite labours, and here he reaped their most desired reward. Every thing here reminds us of him. The thought of this place of our solemnities never recurs, without bringing with it the revered and beloved idea of him, in whose light for so happy, though so brief a season, it rejoiced. At the table of Christian fellowship, I meet the disciples, whom he led to that feast, and his presence almost seems to be with us there. Already I find encouragement and friendship in those, whose earliest remembered impressions of religion are associated with the pathos of his melting tones, and the glory of his speaking eye. I stand by death-beds cheered by happy hopes of immortality, which he taught to glow, and witness the Christian patience of mourners, to whom he was the minister of that lasting peace, which the world can neither give nor take away. Happy servant of his God! who can leave such enduring memorials of so short a life; who, long after the first burst of general distress at his early departure has been hushed, survives in the virtuous purposes of manhood, and the calm meditations of age. Happy, whose epitaph is recorded in the religious dedication of so many grateful hearts! There is no other distinction but is mean compared with such a glory. There is no work, no praise, to be coveted like his, who has been thus instrumental in *turning many to righteousness*. They pay him, while they live, that most honourable tribute of giving him a place among their most spiritual thoughts, their holiest affections. They transmit his influence in the events, which they control, and the minds, which they form. And when, at last, he meets them above, can any thing be wanting to the worth of his *crown of rejoicing*, when they remember together, that it was by his agency, that God made them associates for angels?

It would lead me into unbecoming panegyrick of the living, if I should attempt to say how splendid was the promise of the short ministry which succeeded, and with what disappointment you saw it terminated. Mr. Everett, who was ordained over this Church February 9, 1814, having been dismissed, at his request, March 5, 1815, in consequence of his appointment to a professorship at the College, (32.) the vacant office was again filled June 17, 1818. Since that period the Society has enjoyed its characteristick harmony, and, it is hoped, has not been remarkably deficient in attendance upon the word and ordinances, or shown other discouraging symptoms of decline. (33.)

In the retrospect, which has engaged us, we have seen, my friends, how graciously *God has been*, in time past, *with our fathers*. We perceive what signal tokens of his favour we are imploring, when we entreat him to *be equally with us*. His presence was with our fathers, because they were true to themselves and to him; and it is well for us to think, that this is the condition, on which we may hope and pray for his continued presence. I trust that the recollections of this day have not been without effect in making the weight of our responsibility felt by each of us. They were, in their day and generation, no unprofitable servants, into whose places we have succeeded. It is no mean character, which the duty is devolved on us to sustain.—As long as this Church has existed, it has been a Church *faithful to the principles of Christian liberty*. Its founders were not men studious of novelties; but, on the other hand, they did not suppose that dissent must needs be error. They were the hereticks of their time, whom all felt entitled to pity or revile; but, content to *stand or fall to their own Master*, they scrupled not to follow their light in renouncing what it showed them to be delusion. Amidst much to embarrass and much to deter, they *stood fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free*; and while, in their calm confidence in the final triumph of a good cause, they ceased not

to follow the things which make for peace, and things where-with one may edify another,—to the invasions of the violent, or the jealousies of the apprehensive, they gave place for subjection, no, not for an hour. And now, look to the churches which opposed them, to see the event of their steadfastness, and judge what the event of Christian steadfastness will, sooner or later, always be. The three obnoxious peculiarities of their practice have been almost universally admitted; and, if the one peculiarity of their plan of church order has in theory not been extensively allowed, the ancient rule infringed by it is now little more than a dead letter, or an immaterial form.—Having its origin in so resolute an assertion of Protestant principles, it is no wonder that this has been an *enlightened* Church. It is restraints, legal or conventional, on the right of private judgment, that have kept Christians in darkness; and, where the avenues of religious truth to the mind have not been suffered to be closed by human barriers, truth has not been slow to profit by its opportunity, and hold on its way. Of the four first pastors of this Church,—not to speak of what is more recent,—three were among the liberal Christians of their respective times; and, if an exception needs to be made for the other, there is evidence that his elder associate had little sympathy with him in this particular, and that a large and respectable portion of his Church, though they esteemed him personally, and were unwilling to sacrifice the *unity of the spirit*, were little satisfied with the part, which he took in the religious controversies and transactions of those days. (34.)—It has been a Church *distinguished in the observance of Christian ordinances*. It was the boast of one of my predecessors,\* that ‘he did not know an unbaptized child among the families of his charge;’ and the table of Christian fellowship has never witnessed any other than a full attendance. (35.)—It is a Church always *accessible to the claims of charity*, whose character it belongs to us not to

\* Dr. Thacher. Emerson’s Funeral Sermon.

forfeit. Not only have principles established here given many eminent benefactors to the publick, and the needy among ourselves always had their relation promptly allowed, and their claims carefully remembered and liberally met,—but it would be a yet unprecedented event in your annals, if a worthy occasion for beneficence should be presented here, and find a parsimonious acknowledgment. (36.)—It has been a singularly *united* community. *The multitude of them that have here believed*, have been, with remarkable constancy, *of one heart and of one soul*. The single instance of disunion, which the history of this Church records, occurred more than a century ago, and was not sufficient to obstruct its prosperity, or permanently disturb its quiet. In the revolution of succeeding years, there have not been wanting occasions of difference of opinion; but it has always been wisely considered the due and becoming course, even to the mutual sacrifice of minor interests, to secure the great interest of *letting brotherly love continue*.—It is with such graces, that God has enriched, in former times, this Church of our fathers. It is by such characteristicks, that it is given us in charge, to see that it continue to be known. And if we should begin a new period in its history; if we should receive *for doctrine the commandments of men*, and in our fear of them forget our accountableness to God; if we should be the first here to *darken counsel by words without knowledge*; if God's word and ordinances, so long devoutly revered and prized here, should first experience a neglect from us, and the house of prayer witness desertion or unconcern; if the obligations of Christian benevolence, long and liberally allowed, should first be disowned by our sordidness, and the bonds of Christian fraternity, so closely knit and honourably worn, be severed by our divisions; what an array of venerable men must we look to see *rise up in judgment with the men of this degenerate generation, and condemn them!*

While we pray then, that God will be *with us, even as he was with our fathers*; that he will never leave nor forsake



us ; we should think, my hearers, how it is, that we must invite his presence. We should feel, that we have a great concern in charge. A religious society is not an association for providing a place, where, two or three hours in every week, we may be furnished with unexciting occupation. It is a combination, which creates a vast influence, whether for good or evil. It may be made an instrument for impairing,—it may, alas ! be converted into an agent for removing from the mind, the mighty force of religious sanctions. It may be the birthplace of idle extravagancies, estranging follies, or pernicious doubts. It is bad enough, when the vital spirit of piety is lulled to sleep within its walls. When heartless profession and worldly policy take hold upon the skirts of Religion, Religion is exhibited to the publick view in company where she ought never to be found, and the association discredits and wrongs her. But a religious society, which deserves the name, is an institution, which does no less than combine many earnest minds and devoted hearts for the furtherance of the highest interests of men ;—their only interests, which are of permanent account ;—interests, which angels estimate, and God estimates more highly than themselves, because they understand their importance better. The Christian sanctuary is a full fountain of life-giving waters, accessible to every passenger ; salutary for every sick, and refreshing to every weary soul. If the pulse of the community beats with a healthy flow, it is here that it finds its nourishment. If the mind is in vigour, if the spirit is self-collected to do or to bear, it is here that they have nerved themselves for conflict and toil. It is here that the young form themselves for action, and the aged dispose themselves for death. The house of social worship is the appropriate dwelling of Religion. We may drive her from our homes ; we may banish her from our hearts ; but we must have estranged her indeed, if she never meets us for a moment there. Can we do too much, my friends, to secure the continued presence of such a

guest? Are they mean blessings, which throng around her steps? Would it be a great dishonour and a grievous sin to be the first to exile her from a favoured and familiar home?

If we think so, the occasion has another lesson for us; to do what we may with *all diligence, redeeming the time*; to date from this day a steadfast adherence to whatever principles and practices have hitherto illustrated this place, if we would be sure not to have it hereafter for our shame, that they were defrauded of their due tribute from us. How little is that time, in which so many have been faithful to them! How short is that time, in which we must maintain or disown them! It seems, and it is, no long period since this place first began to echo the praises of the Most High. And yet, within this narrow space, no small portion of the business of living and dying has been transacted; and the history of this Church is already matter of curious antiquarian research,—so few remain, who have even seen aged men, who could tell them of its early fortunes. Since its establishment, four complete generations, according to the common estimate, have followed one another into the gates of the narrow house. Of the first and second ministry, the fruits have been thoroughly gleaned and gathered to heaven. One individual, who in his youth had seen the last survivor of our two first pastors, has been seen by us in this house, the solitary link, that connected us with a departed world; but when his venerable form appeared among us, he was gazed at as a singular example of extreme longevity. (37.) The half century since this modern edifice was reared,—for with the conclusion of our worship this day, divine service will have been solemnized here through the sabbaths of fifty-one years,—appears to us a little time indeed; and the names and characters of the projectors of the work are familiar. Yet of those, who *saw this house in its first glory*, how few have met in it this day! Death came in with the throng of worshippers, and bade them sing a requiem almost as soon as their first thanksgiving

had been sung. Five times, within the little period which has since elapsed, has been missed from its accustomed place here the august form, that had been invested with the supreme authority of the state. Three times these walls have been clothed with funereal pomp for him, who was brought hither to give his last lesson from his bier; and many times in each year they have heard the consolations of religion implored for those, who mourned the illustrious and the beloved,—till at last we only see, here and there, a few survivors of the crowded assembly, that came first into these courts *with thanksgiving*, and into these gates *with praise*. But why speak of the revolutions of years, when weeks or hours are so ample for the work of desolation? It seems but yesterday, since we last met in this house; and yet places, which were left that day without the apprehension of a final parting, are to *know* their occupants *no more* forever. Death seems sometimes to labour long at his work; but it is not because the shortest time will not suffice him. He seems to seek advantages; but it is not because he requires their aid. He has been commissioned to seize almost the moment of our re-union, to teach us, by a most lamented visitation, how transient it may be. Among *the multitude of them that keep holy day*, who would have brought hither a more devout spirit, than the friend, whose place we have scarcely ever till now seen empty? Who could have been taken from an important sphere of duty better filled? Whom would it have been harder to resign; and yet who was more ripe for a higher worship and a nobler society? We mourn over the dissolution of near relations most exemplarily sustained; over the removal of a pious spirit, which found its happiness and resources in devotion, and its exercise in duty. But we bless God for the now extinguished light of an excellent example; and we own the momentous importance of that lesson of human frailty and exposure, which needs to be taught, even at such a cost. (38.)

So rapidly, my friends, we are following one another away. So soon must we give over our work to other hands. So soon are the fortunes and character of this Church,—such as, while in our trust, we made them,—to be added to the history, which we have this day recounted. Shall it be the continuation of this yet unfinished history, that God first left and forsook this Church in our times, because we first forgot and forsook him? or shall it be said, that *he was still with us as he had been with our fathers; for we loved the habitation of his house, we loved his worship, and revered his word, and prized his ordinances; we were jealous for his honour with a godly jealousy; we searched for his will with a lively interest, and did it with a holy zeal; were followers of his Son, and benefactors of his creatures;—that in our time the men resorted here, who loved him with heart, mind, soul, and strength, and laboured that his name might be hallowed, and his kingdom come; who, living a life of faith and prayer, in all holy conversation and godliness, were strenuous in duty and unmoved in trial, and abounding in that pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and keep themselves unspotted from the world; that the families met here, in whose homes dwelt devotion, peace and love; that the youthful piety was learned here, which bore in maturer life the fruits of exemplary worth, of domestick usefulness, and disinterested publick services? Oh, may God be thus gracious to us, as he has been to our fathers! May his spirit never leave nor forsake us; but prepare for itself meet dwellings in our hearts, and subdue them wholly to its excellent sway!*

Meanwhile, we see this day no little cause for grateful joy and animating hopes. To those of us, for whom many interesting recollections connect themselves with this house of prayer, it is no unimportant event to see it *set in its state and strengthened*, and no little anxiety has

been relieved in many minds by the knowledge, that a temple of religion, so honoured by time, and so graced by piety, is not to be removed from our view, like the common structures, which our convenience or our fancy adorns or levels; that the very soil, which has borne so favoured a church of Christ, is to be burdened with no meaner weight. It is matter of satisfaction, to think, that, in the ordinary course of providence, as long as we shall need *a temple made with hands*, this may stand to shelter our devotions. It is soothing to consider, that it may be in this familiar place of our solemnities, that God will be entreated to sustain us in our mortal sickness, and comfort them by whom we may be mourned. It is a thought not without interest, that the sabbath steps of our children still may tread in the path, where we first led them; and we almost find ourselves less apprehensive in committing them to the chances of the world, when we think of bequeathing to them the strengthening and guiding influences of this consecrated place, and the divine care and favour, that have never failed to distinguish it. God grant that they and their children, through all succeeding time, may find it the *house of God*, the open *gate of heaven*! Here may he vouchsafe his presence, and disclose his perfections, and give power to his word, and pour out his spirit! Here may truth *shine forth as the light*, and *righteousness as the noon day*! *The Lord our God be with us and our children, as he was with our fathers! Let him not leave us nor forsake us; that he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways, to make our hearts perfect with the Lord our God, to walk in his statutes, and keep his commandments!*

## NOTES.



(1.) p. 6. THE First Church was founded in 1630; the Second in 1649; and the Old South in 1669. At the time of the establishment of the Church in Brattle Square, Allen and Wadsworth were pastors of the First Church, which then met upon the spot now occupied by Cornhill Square; Increase and Cotton Mather of the Second, in North Square; and Willard of the Old South. The First Baptist Church, in Back Street, was founded in 1679; and the First Episcopalian, (King's Chapel,) in 1688.

(2.) p. 7. THE grantees were Thomas Clark, John Mico, Thomas Banister, Thomas Cooper, Benjamin Walker, Benjamin Davis, Timothy Clark, Stephen Minot, William Keen, Richard Draper, William Harris, Abraham Blush, Zechariah Tuthill, Thomas Palmer, John Colman, James Meers, Joseph Allen, Elkanah Pembroke, John Kilby, and Addington Davenport. The land measured 107 feet on the south and west boundaries, 97 on the north, and 120 on the east, extending to within 17 feet of the present south line of Brattle Street, and on the east and north sides from 3 to 13 feet beyond the walls of the present church. Brattle Street, and *a way leading from the Town Dock* to it, are mentioned in the deed. October 17th, 1700, a new avenue to the church was obtained by the purchase, jointly with others, of a passage, ten feet wide, through the land of John Dasset, since called Dasset's Alley, where a post, to secure it for foot passengers, is still maintained, according to the terms of the purchase.

(3.) p. 8. As some of the Society, who have never met with this document, may be curious to see it, I insert it entire. It would evidently be so contrary to the spirit of the whole, to regard any part of it as a creed, which the founders of our Church meant to impose on their successors,—that it is, perhaps, superfluous to remark, that its sole design is stated to be to prevent 'all misapprehensions and jealousies.' I have not been able to find an original copy of it. That from which I reprint is

taken from a copy, made by Judge Thacher, in 1807, from an original, which was then on the parish files. He informs me, that it was printed on two sides of a half sheet in the folio form, not unlike a handbill of the present day.

*'A Manifesto or Declaration, set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church now erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17th, 1699.*

'INASMUCH as God hath put it into our hearts to undertake the building a new meeting-house in this town for his publick worship ; and whereas, through the gracious smiles of Divine Providence on this our undertaking, we now see the same erected, and near finished :—we think it convenient, for preventing all misapprehensions and jealousies, to publish our aims and designs herein, together with those principles and rules we intend, by God's grace, to adhere unto.

' We do therefore, as in the presence of God, our Judge, and with all the sincerity and seriousness, which the nature of our present engagement commands from us, profess and declare both to one another and to all the world, as follows :

' 1st.—First of all, we approve and subscribe the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

' 2d.—We design only the true and pure worship of God, according to the rules appearing plainly to us in his word, conformably to the known practice of many of the churches of the United Brethren in London, and throughout all England.

' We judge it, therefore, most suitable and convenient, that, in our publick worship, some part of the Holy Scripture be read by the minister, at his discretion.

' In all other parts of divine worship, (as prayer, singing, preaching, blessing the people, and administering the sacraments,) we conform to the ordinary practice of the churches of Christ in this country.

' 3d.—It is our sincere desire and intention to hold communion with the churches here, as true churches ; and we openly protest against all suspicion and jealousy to the contrary, as most injurious to us.

' 4th.—And although, in some circumstances, we may vary from many of them ; yet we jointly profess to maintain such order and rules of discipline, as may preserve, as far as in us lies, evangelical purity and holiness in our communion.

' 5th.—In pursuance whereof, we further declare, that we allow of baptism to those only, who profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him, and to the children of such ; yet we dare not refuse it to any

child offered to us by any professed Christian, upon his engagement to see it educated, if God give life and ability, in the Christian religion.

‘But this being a ministerial act, we think it the pastor’s province to receive such professions and engagements; in whose prudence and conscience we acquiesce.

‘6th.—As to the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, we believe, that, as the ordinance is holy, so the partakers in it (that it may not be visibly profaned) must be persons of visible sanctity.

‘7th.—We judge it, therefore, fitting and expedient, that whoever would be admitted to partake with us in this holy sacrament, be accountable to the pastor, to whom it belongs to inquire into their knowledge and spiritual state, and to require the renewal of their baptismal covenant.

‘8th.—But we assume not to ourselves to impose upon any a publick relation of their experiences; however, if any one think himself bound in conscience to make such a relation, let him do it. For we conceive it sufficient, if the pastor publicly declare himself satisfied in the person offered to our communion, and seasonably propound him.

‘9th.—We also think ourselves obliged, in faithfulness to God, our own souls, and theirs who seek our communion, to inquire into the life and conversation of those who are so propounded; and if we have just matter of objection, to prefer it against them.

‘10th.—But if no objection be made, before the time of their standing propounded is expired, it shall be esteemed a sufficient consent and concurrence of the brethren, and the person propounded shall be received to our communion.

‘11th.—If ever any of our communion should be so unhappy as to fall into any scandalous sin, (which God by his grace prevent,) we profess all dutiful submission to those censures, which the scripture directs, and the churches here practice.

‘12th.—Forasmuch as the same power that admits, should also exclude, we judge it reasonable, that the pastor, in suspending or excommunicating an offender, have the consent and concurrence of the brethren.

‘13th.—We apprehend, that a particular church, as such, is a society of Christians by mutual agreement, usually meeting together for publick worship in the same place, and under the same ministry, attending on the ordinances of God there.

‘14th.—In every such society, the law of nature dictates to us, that there is implied a mutual promise and engagement of being faithful to the relations they bear to each other, whether as private Christians, or as pastor and flock, so long as the providence of God continues them in those relations.



‘15th.—We, moreover, declare ourselves for communion of churches, freely allowing our members, occasionally, to communicate with other churches of Christ, and receiving theirs, occasionally, to the table of the Lord with us. And in extraordinary cases, when the providence of God makes it needful, we conceive that any authorized minister of Christ may, upon our request, administer the sacraments unto us.

‘16th.—Finally, we cannot confine the right of choosing a minister to the communicants alone; but we think that every baptized adult person, who contributes to the maintenance, should have a vote in electing. Yet it seems but just, that persons of the greatest piety, gravity, wisdom, authority, or other endowments, should be leading and influential to the Society in that affair.

‘These are the principles we profess, and the rules we purpose, through the grace of God, to govern ourselves by; and in some of these particulars only, and in no other, do we see cause to depart from what is ordinarily professed and practiced by the churches of Christ here in New England.’

(4.) p. 9. *PRESIDENT MATHER's Order of the Gospel* is dated January, 1700. The principles of the *Manifesto* are stated in the *Epistle Dedicatory*, which prefaces the work, and controverted with some others in elaborate answers to seventeen questions. This treatise is by no means wanting in ingenuity or learning. Its arguments will be variously estimated at this time, as they were at the time when it was written, according to the different views, which are taken of the doctrines discussed. Among the questions raised, is one, applying to Dr. Colman's case;—May a man be ordained a pastor except to a particular church, and in the presence of that church? which is solved in the negative, with a reservation for extreme cases, as to the latter clause.

*Gospel Order Revived, being an Answer to a Book lately set forth by the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, &c. by sundry Ministers of the Gospel in New England*, was printed the same year. It is a reply to *Order of the Gospel*, in a disquisition upon the questions proposed in that work. Apart from the good sense of the argument in *Gospel Order Revived*, it is worthy of attention for the enlarged views, which it discovers of religious liberty. ‘If we appear less rigid,’ say the writers, ‘than others of the Reverend Author's severity, we are reflected on as casting dishonour on our parents, and their pious design in the first settlement of this land. No! we reverence our ancestors, and the memory of their divine zeal and constancy, and would derive it as a truth sacred to our posterity, that it was a religious interest, which carried them through all the amazing difficulties and discouragements in that undertaking. But yet the particular design, or end, has been somewhat differently conveyed unto us.’—‘Some would make the design of our first

planters to consist in some little rites, modes or circumstances of church discipline, and those such as the word of God nowhere requires. These are the men who dishonour their fathers' memory, by making their great design to lie in so small matters.'—'Again ; some have made this the great design, to be freed from the Impositions of Men in the Worship of God, wherewith they were sometime burdened ; and as they sought freedom for themselves, we cannot suppose they designed to impose upon others. In this *we are risen up to make good their grounds.*'—'Whether arbitrary impositions are insufferable in themselves or not, yet certainly they are bold and insolent in New England, where the greatest outcry is made against them in others.'

'Tis possible,' they say, 'that some good people may blame us, for carrying on the contention, wherein, as one saith, though there be but little truth gained, yet a great deal of charity may be lost. We hope the best as to both these.'—'We must do justice also to those, who have first openly asserted and practised those truths among us. They deserve well of the churches of Christ ; and, *though at present decried as apostates and backsliders, the generations to come will bless them.*'

This book has no advertisement of the printer's name or place of residence. It is prefaced with a notice, that 'the press in Boston is so much under the aw of the Reverend Author, whom we answer, and his friends, that we could not obtain of the printer there to print the following sheets.' The printer here referred to, was Bartholomew Green, a man much respected, and then, or afterwards, a deacon of the Old South Church. There being no newspaper in Boston till four years after, he published his vindication in a handbill, dated December 21, 1700 ; in which he affirms, that when the work was brought to him, he agreed to print it, until he was told that it must be done with secrecy ; and then he declined, unless he should be allowed first to consult the Lieut. Governour, (Stoughton,) which condition was rejected. To this statement are appended a few vituperative periods, without an author's name, but charged upon Cotton Mather. This publication was answered by another, from the office of John Allen, containing two depositions, the first by Thomas Brattle and Zechariah Tuthill, relating to an interview between them and Green, at which, they say, he agreed to print the work ; the second, by John Mico and Tuthill, giving an account of a conversation between him and them a few days later, in which he expressed his fear of displeasing some of his friends ; and made the condition mentioned above. These are followed by some remarks of Brattle, in no placid strain, upon Green's handbill and appendix. Green rejoined, in a second publication, on the 10th of January following, in which he represents his scruples about the pamphlet to have arisen from reflecting on the trouble, which had been occasioned by the publication of

the *Manifesto*, which had been printed by him at Tuthill's request. The papers are to be found in *Thomas' History of Printing*, II. 458.

The following year appeared *A Collection of some of the many Offensive Matters contained in a Pamphlet, entitled, The Order of the Gospel Revived*, attributed to Cotton Mather, with a preface of severe invective signed by his father. This tract, the declared purpose of which is to point out 'some of the scandalous violations of the third, fifth and ninth commandments' in the preceding work, is a specimen of the least tolerable style of controversy. The vocabulary, so long consecrated to assaults upon reformers, of 'gross immorality,' 'impudence,' 'deep apostasy,' 'open impiety,' 'profaneness,' and, finally, tendency to 'atheism,' is most liberally used. It appears from several allusions, that the authors supposed Colman to be the principal writer of *Gospel Order Revived*, though they do not name him. He had been a member of their church, and is accordingly rebuked for 'villifying his superiours, unto whom he owes a *special reverence*.' The President calls him a 'little thing,' 'a raw and unstudied youth, but also of a very unsanctified temper and spirit.' He also speaks of 'one that is of the same spirit with him, viz. T. B.—who likewise in print, scornfully styles *his* President a reverend scribbler.—A moral heathen would not have done as he has done.' These initials can denote no other than Thomas Brattle, who showed this disrespect to *his* President, being at that time Treasurer of the College.

Dr. Eliot, in his Biographical Dictionary, (Art. SOLOMON STODDARD,) attributes *Gospel Order Revived* to that gentleman, apparently through misapprehension of a passage in the deposition above-named of Mico and Tuthill. 'These deponents,' they say, 'asked said printer whether he had his Honour's leave to print the Gospel Order. He said, he had not. They then asked him if he would print this, if young Mr. Mather would be *imprimatur* to it? He readily said, he would. Then they told him, it was a shame so worthy a minister as Mr. Stoddard must send so far as England to have his book printed, when young Mr. Mather had the press at his pleasure. To which he replied, he hoped Mr. Mather was another guess man than Mr. Stoddard.'

'There passed,' says Green, in his deposition, 'some discourse concerning Mr. Increase Mather's book, the *Order of the Gospel*, and of Mr. Stoddard's book of *Instituted Churches*, as I understood. Mr. Mico asked me if it were not pity, or a shame, that such a man as Mr. Stoddard should send so far as England to have his book printed. The answer to which I do not justly remember, nor for what reason he spake it to me, for Mr. Stoddard's book was never offered me to print by himself or any other person.'

Unless I have made some error in taking a memorandum, Cotton Mather published, in 1702, *Advice to the Churches of the Faithful*, a work

which, perhaps, belongs to this controversy, but which I have not been able to find. In a sermon printed in that year, called *Ichabod, or a Discourse shewing what Cause there is to fear that the Glory of the Lord is departing from New England*, the President recurs to the subject, though incidentally, and more covertly. 'Some scandalous practices,' he says, 'which not only the Waldenses, but the reformed churches in France and in Holland have, in their discipline, declared to be censurable evils, are now indulged in some churches in New England;' which hint is explained, when he comes to speak of 'ministers, not like their predecessors, not principled, nor spirited as they were,' who 'have in print mocked and scoffed at holy practices, which have been the glory of these churches of the Lord;' who 'despise that glory, which their fathers had such a value for,' and 'will part with truth and holiness; and yet, at the same time, by new notions and practices, make divisions.'

In their *Testimony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New England, left in the Hands of the Churches by the two most aged Ministers of the Gospel yet surviving in the Country*, Higginson and Hubbard allude to this controversy in terms expressive of a lively concern. The former had also, in 1699, written, jointly with Mr. Noyes, the other Salem minister, a letter of admonition and reproof to the *Undertakers*, which is preserved in MS. Vol. Ha. 19 of the Historical Society's library. It is severe, without being unkind or disrespectful; and while, in point of argument, it does not compare favourably with the writings of the Mathers, has greatly the advantage of them in its spirit.

Some of the points in this dispute are touched in 'famous Solomon Stoddard's' *Doctrine of Instituted Churches*, published in London, in 1700. *A soft Answer* to this work was furnished by President Mather, but I have searched for it ineffectually. Stoddard rejoined in his *Appeal to the Learned*, in 1709.

From a private journal kept at this time, in Marblehead, by Josiah Cotton, an extract from which has been furnished me by Judge Davis, it appears, that the Church 'was for a while, in contempt, called the *Manifesto Church*,' and that *Gospel Order Revired* was commonly reputed to be the joint work of the ministers Colman, Bradstreet of Charlestown, and Woodbridge. Mr. Cotton inserts two pieces of doggerel verse, written, one by an assailant, and the other by a champion of the Church, which contain some wretched puns upon the names of those gentlemen. The lines are too insipid to print. I gather from them only that the Church was thought to affect gentility, and that Dr. Colman wore powder. The journalist well subjoins, 'Thus the quarrels about religion give occasion to scoffing wits; and therefore a small matter should not set us together by the ears; for a victory won't countervail the damage, and it is well that that controversy is since comfortably composed.'

(5.) p. 9. 'MORE acceptable it was,' writes Dr. Colman, in the record of his call, 'by reason of the kind and encouraging letters, which accompanied it, from my excellent friends, the Hon. Mr. John Leverett, the Rev. William Brattle, Ebenezer Pemberton, Simon Bradstreet, and others. Being arrived at London, August 1, 1699, I asked ordination of the presbytery there, and on the 4th day of said month the solemnity was attended, after a publick lecture, at the meeting-house of the Rev. Mr. Christopher Taylor, to whom I succeeded at Bath. I was ordained by prayer, with the imposition of the hands of the Rev. Richard Stratton, John Spademan, Robert Fleming, and Christopher Taylor. Mr. Stratton prayed, Mr. Spademan made the exhortation.'

The letters of encouragement above referred to are preserved in the MS. volume of the Historical Society's library, to which I have before referred. I copy that of Leverett, as an agreeable specimen of the courtesy of the time :

'CAMBRIDGE, *May 25th*, 1699.

'Rev. Sr,

'I HAVE wrote several letters to you, but have not been sure of your receiving any more than One of them; However, I hope they have been so happy as to kiss your hands, and to testify to you my regards. This I trust will get safe to you, since it waits upon those that send their Invitations to you to come over to do service in your Own Country. The Gent. that solicit your return Informe me of their doing so, and I hope their hopes of obtaining what they send for will not be frustrate, nor long deferred. I believe, Sr, you have as Advantageous a prospect, as any our country can offer. The Gent. Engaged in that affair are Able, Vigourous and Sincere. They are men of honour, and can't, in an Ordinary way, fail a Reasonable Expectation. The Work they have begun had its Rise from a Zeal that is not Common, and the progress of it is Orderly and Steady. I am heartily pleased with the motion they have made towards yourself, because I shal Exceedingly rejoyce at your return into your Country. We want Psons of your Character. You will, I doubt not, let the Name of your Country have a Weight in the ballance of your Consideration. The Affaire offered to you is great, and of Great moment. I pray Almighty God to be your director in it. It is he that thrusts Labours into his harvest, and bounds the habitations of the Sons of Adam. that yours (if it may be for your advantage) may be where you have this Invitation, is heartily desired by all that I have heard speak of it; but it can't be more Agreeable to any body than it is to,

Sr,

Your sincere friend and humble servant,

JOHN LEVERETT.'

(6.) p. 9. THE first record was made December 12. December 20, the proprietors voted, 'that the Psalms in our publick worship be sung without reading line by line.' The first day of publick worship was December 24, when Dr. Colman preached from 2 Chron. vi. 18. 'I omit, on purpose,' he writes, under that date, 'the differences and troubles we had with any neighbours about our proceedings; only am obliged to leave this acknowledgment of our great obligation to the Hon. William Stoughton, Esq. Lieut. Gov. of the Province, the Rev. Mr. William Brattle of Cambridge, the Rev. Mr. Clark of Chelmsford, and Mr. Danforth of Dorchester, for their good and kind endeavours for our peaceable settlement.' The 'day of prayer' was kept January 31. In the morning Mr. Allen prayed and Dr. Colman preached. In the afternoon, Mr. Willard began with prayer, Increase Mather preached, and Cotton Mather concluded. What led to this accommodation, I have failed to ascertain. In a note from Allen and the Mathers, dated only a month before, they refuse to take part in this solemnity, 'lest,' say they, 'our joining with you in such an action be interpreted as an approbation of the miscarriages, which, both before and since the publication of the said *Manifesto*, it seems to us that you are fallen into.'

The fourteen brethren who first formed the Church were Brattle, Thomas Clark, Cooper, Walker, Davis, Keen, Draper, Harris, Tuthill, Colman, Allen, and Kilby, of the undertakers, with John and Oliver Noyes. The brethren who joined it on the first communion day were Bannister and Pembroke, of the undertakers, with Nathaniel Oliver, John George, William Pain, John Chip, and John Kilby, sen.; and the sisters, Mary Tuthill, Rebecca Taffin, Mary Mico, Mehitabell Cooper, Lydia George, Sarah Bannister, Jane Pembroke, and Elizabeth Royall. The pastor of the Old South Church, who has kindly searched his books for me, informs me that Davis, Walker, Kilby, Oliver Noyes, Oliver, John and Lydia George, and Mehitabell Cooper, were from that church, and Brattle from that congregation, where he owned the baptismal covenant in 1680. Pembroke was a member of the First Church. Besides these, all the first female communicants, and Draper, Bannister, and Chip, among the male, are marked as having been before church members, but I have not been able to find their names on the register of any church in the town,—a circumstance for which I am at a loss to account. John Colman was probably from the Second Church. The names of Draper, Royall, and Tuthill, occur in the records of the First, and those of Clark, Davenport, Harris, Keen, and Palmer, in those of the Second.'

Clark, whose daughter Dr. Colman married, is called, in the dedication to his sermon preached on a day of prayer in behalf of the children of the Church, its 'first benefactor.'—In the fifth volume of the Historical Collections is preserved a '*Full and Candid Account of the Delusion called*

*Witchcraft, which prevailed in New England; and of the Judicial Trials and Executions at Salem in the County of Essex for that pretended Crime, in 1692. Written by Thomas Brattle, F. R. S.* It is a composition highly honourable to the writer,—manly, sensible, and humane, besides being exceedingly well written. The undertakers are called by Pemberton, in his letter above-mentioned, ‘men of repute and figure.’ In a letter of Oliver Noyes to Colman, he says, ‘their methods (in my own private thoughts) have been regular, having first applied themselves to the governour and council, and assembly, and selectmen of Boston, with their unanimous approbation, as also acquainting the ministers at their meeting after lecture; and, though they did not apply themselves to any particular minister for advice, as some few have resented harsh—yet, to my thoughts, they had some reason, being about to depart from some customs that some of them pretend to be fond of; and for that reason, perhaps, they denied to join with them in a fast they had appointed to implore peace, love and success in their design.’

(7.) p. 10. MR. ADAMS was first engaged for a year, by an unanimous vote, in June, 1701. He was settled in New London in 1709, and lived till 1753. He published several sermons.

(8.) p. 10. ACCORDING to Allen, that eminent man Dr. Barnard of Marblehead ‘was employed for some time as an assistant to Dr. Colman.’ This does not appear from the records.

(9.) p. 11. MR. COOPER was invited to the pastoral care August 16, 1715, preliminary votes having been passed at the first publick meeting of the whole congregation the month before. 66 votes were given, of which 60 were in his favour. Having represented, ‘that he feared, if he should immediately engage in a course of constant preaching, it might hinder him too much in his preparatory studies,’ he continued to preach but once a fortnight for some months. At his ordination, Dr. Colman preached the sermon, from 2 Tim. ii. 1. ‘It has been usual,’ he says, in the preface, ‘for the person who is to be ordained himself to preach. This practice has, of late years, been much complained of by our young ministers, as a great impropriety imposed on them. In which opinion I concur, and was therefore willing to relieve Mr. Cooper, and to assign him a more proper part and service, which he also chose. This, also, is new with us. But we had the satisfaction to see it highly approved,’ &c. This ‘more proper part and service,’ which was introduced between the sermon and the consecrating prayer, and afterwards published with the former, was a detailed exposition, by the candidate, of his views of the Christian system

and the pastoral office, in answers to four questions propounded to him by Dr. Colman.

The sermon contains a hint, from which some judgment may be formed concerning the amount of parochial duty, considered reputable in those days. 'I have already led you through the greatest part of the congregation, but am sensible we have missed many, some of whom we know not where their habitations are, and should be glad to know them, that we may do our duty to them also.' Dr. Colman also extols Cooper, in his funeral sermon, as knowing 'where to find the poor and sick of the flock, when they sent their notes.' At the present day it would sound strangely for a minister to speak of missing many of his congregation, from not knowing where they lived, or to name it as for the credit of another, that he knew where to find the poor and sick. Cotton Mather is, in like manner, commended by his biographer, for thinking it 'his duty to visit the families belonging to his church; taking *one*, and sometimes *two* afternoons in a week for that purpose.' Nor was it the length of his visits that prevented their greater frequency; for 'he could seldom despatch more than *four* or *five* families in an afternoon, and looked on, this work as laborious as any in all his ministry.' *Life, by Samuel Mather, pp. 35, 37.*

(10.) p. 11. THE date in the text is an error. Mr. Cooper died December 12, of apoplexy. He had been unwell a week before, but not alarmingly ill till the second day previous to his decease. The Lord's day after the funeral Dr. Sewall preached in Brattle Square from 1 Thess. iv. 14, and Dr. Colman from John xi. 35. The next Lord's day Mr. Prince preached from 2 Tim. iv. 7, and 'the rest of the ministers followed, in their course, preaching with great affection.'

(11.) p. 11. SEPTEMBER 4, 1744, three gentlemen were requested to preach as candidates, besides Mr. Cooper, whom the pastor, at his discretion, was permitted to invite by a vote of 52 to 13. At a meeting, held December 31, 'a very full meeting of no less than 138 in number,' Mr. Cooper was chosen to the pastoral office by 116 votes.

(12.) p. 11. DR. COLMAN began to preach the year after he took his bachelor's degree, and resided, for the most part, at Cambridge till he went abroad, two years after, 'having a strong desire to see England, and make improvement by what he could see and learn there.'\* The vessel, in which he took passage, was taken by a French privateer, and he was carried to France, where, as well as afterwards in England, he met with various adventures, which are narrated at tedious length by his biographer. In

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\* Turell's Life of Colman.



England he formed friendships with many persons of note ; among others with Elizabeth Singer, afterwards Mrs. Rowe, with whom he continued to correspond till her death.

During Dr. Colman's sole ministry in Brattle Square, 245 persons were received to full communion with the Church, viz. before the ordination of William Cooper, 97 men and 123 women ; and in the interval between his death and the ordination of his son, 8 men and 17 women. From the first, the ordinance of the Lord's supper has been administered on the first Sunday of each month. In the first term of Dr. Colman's sole ministry 682 persons were baptized, and in the second, 148.

His salary was at first forty shillings a week. It was raised, the second year, to fifty, and, in 1708, to three pounds.

'On October the 12th, 1711, the old church being burnt down with a great part of the town,' the First Church was invited to worship with the Church in Brattle Square ; and continued so to do till May 4, 1713.

'July 24, 1713, the Rev. Mr. William Brattle, pastor of the church in Cambridge, signified, by a letter, the legacy of his brother, Thomas Brattle, Esq. lately deceased, of a pair of organs, which he dedicated and devoted to the praise and glory of God with us, if we should accept thereof, and, within a year after his decease, procure a sober person, skilful to play thereon. The Church, with all possible respect to the memory of our deceased Friend and Benefactor, voted, that they did not think it proper to use the same in the publick worship of God.'

'July 4, 1715, Dr. Noyes proposed our using some better version of the Psalms ; and Capt. Clark proposed that there might be a constant exposition of the Scriptures, after the reading of them every Lord's day. Both which matters, after some discourse of them, were left to further consideration, if need were.'

Dr. Colman was, from youth to age, a diligent student. He had, for the time, a good library, part of which he bequeathed to the Church. Though he modestly speaks, when chosen president, of his 'long disuse of academical studies,' he in fact never wholly renounced his classical pursuits. His Latin letters are written in a beautiful style, and he read Horace not long before his death. He composed with uncommon rapidity. One sermon, which is in print, and which took him an hour to pronounce, is stated by his biographer to have been written in a forenoon. He published upwards of eighty works, chiefly sermons, a catalogue of which is given in the Appendix to his life. At a time when such honours were very scantily distributed, and not at all by our own colleges, he received a diploma as doctor in divinity from the University of Glasgow. In what esteem he was held by his own college, may be gathered from the notice taken of him by President Holyoke, on the day of Commencement after his death, in which it is curious that the President has occasion to allude to him in

connexion with Mr. Gee, as Dr. Chauncy had done in the letter to which I allude in the text,—but with a quite different result. The President names Mr. Gee with other clergymen deceased during the year, and goes on to say, quibus omnibus, egregie licet ornatis, virum vere reverendum Benjamin Colman *longe præcellere, nemo non facile confitebitur*.

Dr. Barnard of Marblehead, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, dated 16th October, 1767, (Hist. Coll. X. 169,) calls Colman ‘a most gentlemanly man, of polite aspect and conversation, very extensive erudition, great devotion of spirit and behaviour, a charming and admired preacher, extensively serviceable to the college and country, whose works breathe his exalted, oratorical, devout, and benign spirit; an excellent man in spirit, in faith, in holiness and charity.’

Of his manner as a publick speaker, his colleague says, in an unpublished funeral discourse, ‘he never delivered a sermon but we saw how perfectly he understood the decorum of the pulpit; and the gravity and sweetness at once expressed in his countenance, the musick of his voice, the propriety of his accent, and the decency of his gesture, showed him one of the most graceful speakers of the age.’

‘He was a good master of address, and carried all the politeness of a court about him. And, as he treated mankind of various degrees and ranks with a civility, courtesy, affability, complaisance and candour scarce to be equalled,—so all but the base and mean showed him a high degree of respect and reverence, love and affection. Particularly men of figure and parts of our own nation and foreigners, whom he failed not to visit upon their coming among us, greatly valued and admired him.—It has been said, perhaps not without some seeming grounds for it, that he sometimes went too far in complimentary strains, both in word and writing; but, if he did, such flights took their rise from an exuberance or excrescence of the before-mentioned homiletical virtues. He took a sincere pleasure in the gifts of others, and had a natural proneness to think favourably of all men, and construed every thing in the most candid sense.’\* ‘He loved and honoured good men of every denomination, how much soever they differed from him in some peculiar sentiments, circumstantials and modalities.’ ‘To his relations by consanguinity and affinity, he was singularly affectionate and kind.’ ‘He was also a sincere and useful friend to all such as he professed any friendship to, and extended his benevolence and beneficence to their friends.’† ‘He was an example of patience, and instead of revenging injuries, (when it was in his power,) he laid himself out to do all the kindnesses he could to his adversaries.’ Yet ‘his natural temper was quick and hasty; and he had the infirmities as well as sanctity of an Elijah.‡

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\* Ibid. p. 183.

† Ibid. p. 215.

‡ Ibid. p. 221.

His services were much sought by individuals and churches in the office of a peacemaker. Several letters, written and received by him on such occasions, remain, and show the confidence which was placed in his moderation and wisdom.—In 1740, some apprehension, it seems, was felt, of *a breach among the ministers and in the lecture*, occasioned by two sermons, one preached by Mr. Hooper of the West Church, the other, probably, by Dr. Chauncy. Dr. Colman, as usual, was employed to heal the schism. There is a note from him to Dr. Chauncy, requesting, for himself and the three other senior ministers, an interview with that gentleman ‘for a free brotherly discourse.’ No answer is preserved, and it does not appear what reception the proposition met. From an amicable correspondence, which took place, at the same time, between Dr. Colman and Mr. Hooper, it appears, that the matter of suspicion was some views, which had been advanced concerning the justice and mercy of God,—very probably the rudiments of the system, which Dr. Chauncy afterwards expounded at length.—Mr. Hooper, in 1746, left his society and became rector of Trinity Church. Dr. Colman records the baptism by him of two children ‘at Mr. Hooper’s, on his desertion.’

Besides his numerous letters on publick concerns, he maintained an extensive correspondence of friendship with eminent individuals at home and abroad, among whom were Dr. Hoadly, Dr. Watts, and Dr. Kennett, bishop of Peterborough. A complimentary letter from him to Bishop Hoadly, then of Bangor, occasioned by the publication of his *Common Rights of Subjects*, is preserved in the MS. volume, to which I have referred, as also a letter from London, in which Gov. Belcher informs him of the circumstances of his appointment to the chair of the commonwealth. I have been told, that a manuscript volume, containing letters which passed between him and Dr. Watts, was missing from the library of the Historical Society, at the time of the controversy occasioned by the election of Dr. Ware to the divinity chair in 1805, and has never been recovered.

‘If any should inquire concerning the person of Dr. Colman’—‘his form was spare and slender, but of a stature tall and erect above the common height; his complexion fair and delicate, his aspect and mien benign and graceful; and his whole appearance amiable and venerable. There was a peculiar flame and dignity in his eye, which he could soften and manage with all the beauty and force of oratory, but still natural, and without the least affectation.—And his neat and clean manner of dress, and genteel, complaisant behaviour, politeness and elegance in conversation, set off his person to the best advantage.’\*

‘He was of a tender constitution from his birth,’† and ‘when he

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\* Ibid. p. 231.

† Ibid. p. 1.

pronounced the publick oration in taking his master's degree, his thin and slender appearance, his soft and delicate voice, and the red spots in his cheeks, caused the audience in general to conclude him bordering on a consumption, and to be designed but for a few weeks of life.\* 'His tender constitution and often infirmities, together with many sudden and threatening shocks on his health by acute diseases, were earnest and quickening mementos to him of his frailty and mortality.'† By strict regularity of living, however, he retained sufficient health for his life and labours to cease together. He preached the Lord's day previous to, and rose as usual on the morning of his death.

His family is extinct. John Dennie, whom Turell calls, in his biography, 'the only lamp the doctor left burning in his house at his decease,' died childless. The late Mrs. Ward, wife of Rev. Ephraim Ward of Brookfield, was a granddaughter of John Colman, brother of the doctor.

(13.) p. 12. To say as much as this of Cotton Mather, is certainly to do him no injustice. That he had great application and a wonderful memory, there is of course no disputing; but I apprehend that he cannot be said to have possessed any faculty besides that of memory in remarkable strength. Like most other persons of such comprehensive pretensions, he was extremely inaccurate. No one, probably, now relies on his historical writings as authority, when they are unsupported by other evidence. His estimation of his own importance was also altogether unreasonable. At two different vacancies in the presidency of the college, he kept fasts to seek direction in the course which he should pursue when appointed to that office. Many of the representatives favoured his claim; but the corporation four times passed him by, and chose more competent men. While Leverett was president, the Mathers seldom attended the overseers' meetings, and Cotton Mather was never of the corporation.

We have seen how the ministerial intercourse between Cotton Mather and Dr. Colman began. The dispute does not appear to have left any permanent resentment in the mind of the latter. His funeral sermon, from Gen. v. 24, not only breathes a most affectionate and noble spirit, but one is inclined to think, that its panegyrick would have been more qualified, had not the author feared, that their former relation might bias him to do Mather less than justice.

(14.) p. 12. In his funeral sermon upon William Cooper, than which nothing can be more affectionate, he says, 'if in any particular point I could not act with him, yet he evidently appeared to me to act, as he professed, as of sincerity, in the sight of God, and as his conscience com-

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\* Ibid. p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 224.

manded him.' Good men are apt to think the times in which they live degenerate. Colman says, in his sermon just quoted, 'It is a time of decay. Let us, therefore, the rather be strengthening the things that remain and are ready to die;' and, in his address in that sermon to candidates for the ministry, 'Your times are like to be harder than ours, more loose and careless, more evil and trying.' And again, in his sermon on the general fast, March 22, 1716: 'We are sadly on the decay as to serious piety and vital religion. We have lost our first love, life, and zeal. Our fathers, where are they,—their spirit of devotion, their sobriety and temperance, their godliness and honesty? Sensuality, worldliness and pride are grown up in the place of these,—profaneness, lukewarmness and hypocrisy, selfishness and unrighteousness.'

(15.) p. 12. DR. COLMAN was frequently employed by the general court in draughting letters and addresses, and held extensive correspondence, upon the affairs of the colony, with the governours and agents, and with dissenting gentlemen in England. He also wrote several addresses to the king and ministry, in behalf of the clergy of Massachusetts. He was, it seems, 'blamed by some for interfering at all with civil and secular matters. But,' asks his biographer, 'must a person, who knows well the interest of his country, and is capable of serving it, and saving it too, when sinking, be silent only because he is a minister? Is he nothing else? Is he not a subject of his prince, and a member of the commonwealth?'

He was very active in introducing the practice of inoculation for the small pox. 'Of 5889, who took it in Boston' in the year 1721, '844 died. Inoculation was introduced upon this occasion, contrary to the minds of the inhabitants in general, and not without hazard to the lives of those who promoted it, from the rage of the people.'\* Professional and religious bigotry combined to oppose it. A bill to prohibit it passed the house of representatives, and was only stopped in the council. The practice was however persevered in by Dr. Boylston, who was manfully defended by Mather and Colman. The latter published, in 1721, *Some Observations on the New Method of receiving the Small Pox by ingrafting, or inoculating*, dedicated to President Leverett. There is a curious example of the spirit, which this dispute elicited, in a sermon preached in London by Mr. Mussey in 1722, and reprinted in Boston. The text is Job ii. 7, and the doctrine, that Satan was the first inoculator.

Dr. Colman published a pamphlet in 1719 in favour of the erection of a market-house, a measure which, at that time, and until several years after, when one market-house was destroyed, and the two others injured by a mob, occasioned much excitement among the citizens.

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\* Hutchinson's History, II. 247.

(16.) p. 12. I SUPPOSE the college is not more indebted to any other man than to Dr. Colman. While a fellow, he appears to have been chiefly relied upon for the performance of the most important of the duties incident to that trust. 'The most remote step,' says he, 'to sap and undermine our college, I would carefully observe, and instantly and openly oppose, and have made it the business of my life to do so, with caution and courage.' No opportunity to promote its welfare, by means of his influence with others, was lost. Samuel Holden, governour of the bank of England, was son of Mrs. Parkhurst, in whose family Colman was a guest while in that country. In his funeral sermon, delivered before the government, at the Thursday lecture, he says, that he received from Holden, at different times, near £5000, New England currency, for charitable uses. After Holden's death, his daughters built the chapel at Cambridge, which bears their name. The benefactions received by Dr. Colman for the college, from Thomas Hollis, were reckoned by him at £5400. Besides a supply of Greek and Hebrew types, and valuable additions to the library, he founded ten scholarships, and the professorships of divinity and natural philosophy, and furnished an apparatus for the use of the latter.

In a letter to the bishop of Peterborough, soon after declining the office of president, Dr. Colman says, 'I am not well in the opinion of our house of representatives of late years, on whom the president depends for his subsistence; and they could not have pinched me without the chair's suffering with me, which I could by no means consent it should do for my sake. As for the catholick spirit, which makes your lordship wish to see me in that honourable station,—it is the very spirit of our college, and has been so these forty years past; and if I have ever shone in your lordship's eyes on that account, here I learned it thirty years since; and when I visited the famous universities and private academies in England, I was proud of my own humble education here in our Cambridge, because of the catholick air I had there breathed in.'

He also procured many valuable books for the library of Yale College. When that society received the *Dean's bounty*, he was alarmed lest the benefaction should be coupled with conditions adverse to the purity of the churches, and wrote letters to the rector and some of the trustees, cautioning them to beware of making concessions to Episcopacy. In one of these letters, he inquires concerning the truth of a report, that Arminianism had gained ground in that college.

(17.) p. 12. THE proposal for this contribution, directed to 'the ministers and churches of Christ, through this and the neighbouring provinces,' was found among his papers, labelled *My own*. The plan was, for 'every particular church' to provide, from collections at the annual fast and thanksgiving, and from 'private communications,' 'a constant and

ready fund for uses of piety and charity, as they may see occasion.' This fund was to be 'lodged in the hands of the deacons of each of the churches where it is gathered, or whomsoever the church shall appoint to that trust,' and the 'first and main intention' of it to 'be the propagation of religion in ungospelized places; and the dispersing bibles, catechisms, and other instruments of piety among the poor.'

(18.) p. 13. THE second of Dr. Colman's three marriages was with the widow of Pres. Leverett. His biographer is as reserved concerning this connexion, as he is warm in his eulogies of the other two. None of Dr. Colman's children survived him. His only son died in infancy, and his oldest daughter, to whom he was tenderly attached, twelve years before himself. The misconduct of another daughter was the great affliction of his life.

(19.) p. 14. THE overseers approved the election of Dr. Colman for president by a unanimous vote. The reference in the vote of the representatives to 'this being a matter of great weight and importance, especially to the establishment of the churches in this province, as well as to the college,' seems to point to Dr. Colman's heterodox views of church order as the cause of their opposition. In the course of the debate he was however declared to be 'a man of no learning compared with Dr. Mather,' who was the popular candidate.

(20.) p. 15. IN 1741, eighty-five persons became communicants with the Church in Brattle Square, and in 1742, forty-two. An anonymous writer of the time says, in reference to Cooper's preaching, 'that pulpit, which had been consecrated by the *first sermon* of the glorious itinerant, has echoed nothing ever since but his praise and the glory of his work.' If this was accurate, the first sermon must have been preached at a lecture, as Whitefield says, in one of his letters to Dr. Chauncy: 'I was but three Lord's days in Boston. The first I heard the Rev. Dr. Colman in the forenoon, notwithstanding he asked me to preach after he was up in the pulpit, and had finished the first prayer. I would also have been an auditor in the afternoon, had not Mr. Foxcroft pressed me to preach for him.' Mr. Ashley, against whom Cooper wrote for preaching a sermon in the latter's desk reflecting on the disorders of the times, after referring in his reply to the alleged dissatisfaction of some of his hearers, adds, 'these are not half the number of those who heard me and gave me thanks.' That Dr. Colman was believed to be of their mind, is hinted by the anonymous writer above referred to, in another pamphlet. Mr. Cooper, he says, gives no account of his colleague's 'opinion of this sermon, though he was present at the delivery of it. But the reason of this may be easily guessed; for the doctor has given too many proofs

of his good sense and fine taste, to leave room for the world to doubt of his sentiments in this matter.' Dr. Colman wrote, in a letter to Mr. Williams of Lebanon, 'It is, at this day, enough to make the heart of a sober and considerate Christian bleed within him, to hear of the sore rents and divisions made by Mr. Davenport and others in a great number of towns and churches throughout our provinces. Almost all on Long Island are thus broken to pieces, and so are many in Connecticut, and with us of the Massachusetts to a sorrowful degree.' And, in his sermon at the ordination of S. Cooper, he expresses his 'wish before God and in his fear, that those among ourselves, who have of late years taken upon them to go about exhorting and preaching, grossly unfurnished with ministerial gifts and knowledge, would suffer those words of the Lord, [Jeremiah xxiii. 31, 32,] to sink deep into their hearts, to check them in their bold career, and blind censures of many faithful pastors, into whose folds they are daily breaking, and because of the mildness of our spirits towards them, seem to grow the more bold and fierce. And it were greatly to be wished, that people would beware of such straggling, illiterate teachers, and avoid them, in whatever appearances of sheep's clothing they may come.' Cooper's feeling on the subject appears from the following extract of a preface written by him for a sermon by Jonathan Edwards, about a year after the revival began : 'If any are resolutely set to disbelieve this work, to reproach and oppose it, they must be left to the free, sovereign power and mercy of God to enlighten and rescue them. These, if they have had opportunity to be rightly informed, I am ready to think, would have been disbelievers and opposers of the miracles and mission of our Saviour, had they lived in his day. The malignity, which some of them have discovered, to me approaches near to the unpardonable sin ; and they had need beware, lest they indeed sin the sin which is unto death.'

(21.) p. 15. MR. COOPER was a native of Boston. His father died when he was very young. His mother was called by Colman, in his sermon upon her death, 'the woman that one would have wished to be born of.' He was graduated in 1712, and chosen president in 1737. The following extract from the overseers' records relates to his election :

'At an overseers' meeting at the college, 4th May, 1737,

'The forenoon was spent in prayer.

'P. M. The overseers, having given their advice to the corporation by a Latin speech made by the governor about the general qualifications of a president, the corporation withdrew.

'The corporation, returning to the overseers' board, informed them, that they had endeavoured to come to the choice of a president, but could not then come to a decisive vote, and therefore thought it needful to take some further time to deliberate on that affair, and hoped, the honourable and reverend overseers would agree with them in that their thought ; and then



the corporation withdrew. And, after some time, the overseers sent for the corporation, and told them, that they expected the corporation would present their choice of a president to them at their next meeting, which would be the 26th instant.'

'At an overseers' meeting, at the council chamber, Boston, 26th May, 1737,

'Two votes of the corporation, respecting the choice of the Rev. William Cooper to the office of president of Harvard College, were read at the board.

'Whereupon immediately there was read a letter from Mr. Cooper to the overseers, in which he said, that "having been informed by a message from the reverend corporation of the college of his election to be president of that society, and that the said election was this day to be presented to the board of overseers, and being unwilling that the honourable and reverend board should have any needless trouble given them, or the settlement of the college be at all delayed on his account, he took this first opportunity wholly to excuse himself from that honour and trust." President Holyoke was soon after elected.

'I am a witness,' says Colman, in his sermon at Cooper's funeral, 'to his early, serious and steady inclinations to serve God and his generation, by his holy will, in the work of the ministry; and that in his childhood he was in this a Timothy, that he knew the holy Scripture and studied his Bible, that he might be made wise to salvation.' 'On the day that he heard the first sermon that was preached in this house, being then but seven years old, he set himself to read like me as soon as he came home; and I ought to thank God if I have served any way to the forming him for his since eminent pulpit-services, and in particular his method of preaching Christ and Scripture: So a torch may be light at a farthing candle.' 'His profiting at school and college was remarkable, like his diligent study.' 'He came out at once, to a very great degree, a perfect preacher, when he first appeared in the pulpit at Cambridge, as Mr. President Leverett at the time observed to me.' 'With what light and power (by the help of God) he has since continued to preach the doctrines of grace, with the laws and motives of the gospel, is known to you all.' 'His sermons were well studied, smelt of the lamp, and told us how well his head and heart had been labouring for us from week to week; and how intent his mind and desire was, so to speak to us in the name of God, and from his oracles, as might best inform our minds, strike our affections, and enter into our consciences. But when he led us in prayers and supplication, praises and thanksgivings to God, in one administration and another, more especially of the sacraments of the New Testament, baptism and the Lord's supper; then his eminence appeared, in such a flow, propriety and fulness, as could not but often surprize the intelligent worshipper, and bear away the spiritual and truly devout, as on angels' wings, toward heaven. He came near to the throne,

and filled his mouth with arguments.' 'In the pulpit and out of it, he was, like Phinehas, zealous for his God, a faithful reprovcr of sin, and earnest to make atonement for it.' 'He neither sought glory of men, nor feared the faces of a multitude, nor did the contempt of families terrify him: He was endowed and formed to lead, advise and execute; and indeed was not easily turned. He thought, judged and fixed, and then it was hard to move him. God pleased greatly to own his ministry, publick and private, for saving good to souls, and gave him many seals of it, more especially (as he judged) of late years, in whom he had much joy, and they a vast honour and reverence for him.' 'He is gone from us in the prime of life and usefulness, while his strength was firm, promising many more years of service.' 'I can truly say, (as I said in tears over the dear remains on the day of its interment,) that, had I the like confidence of my own actual readiness to be offered, I had much rather, for your sake and the churches' through the land, have chosen to die in his stead, might he have lived to my years, and served on to the glory of God.'

In the letter quoted page 13, Dr. Chauncy characterized Mr. Cooper as 'a good preacher, eminently gifted in prayer, and a man of good understanding, though not endowed with a great deal of learning, or an uncommon strength in any of his powers.'

Mr. Cooper published, in 1721, a very spirited and judicious pamphlet in the controversy respecting inoculation for the small pox.

The following is the most complete list I have been able to make of his other publications:

A sermon on the incomprehensibleness of God. 17—

—— shewing how and why young people should cleanse their way. 1716.

—— addressed to young people on a day of prayer, March 5, 1723.  
'God's concern for a godly seed.'

—— on the death of John Corey. 1726.

Blessedness of the tried saint. 1727.

A sermon on early piety. 1728.

—— on the reality, extremity and absolute certainty of hell torments. 1732.

—— on the death of Lieut. Gov. Tailer. 1732.

—— on the death of Moses Abbot. 1734.

—— at the ordination of Robert Breck at Springfield. 1736.

—— on winter. *Concio Hyemalis*. 1737.

—— on the death of the Rev. Peter Thacher. 1739.

The doctrine of predestination into life explained and vindicated, in four sermons. 1740. Reprinted in London, 1765, and in Boston, 1804.

A sermon delivered on the day of general election. 1740.

—— from Luke xvii. 34, 35, 36, preached at the Old South church. 1741.

Two sermons preached at Portsmouth, N. H. 1741.

Mr. Cooper was moderator of the council when he preached the ordination sermon at Springfield. The occasion was attended with great excitement. Mr. Breck was obnoxious to the Hampshire Association, being accused, among other things, of denying the authenticity of 1 John, v. 7, and of maintaining, 'that God might, consistent with his justice, forgive sin without any satisfaction;' 'that, upon supposition that the decrees of God were absolute or unchangeable, he saw no encouragement to duty, seeing then, let men do what they could, or neglect, it could not alter their condition;' 'that it was unjust for God to punish men for not doing what was not now in their power;' and 'that the heathen that lived up to the light of nature, should not be damned for want of faith in Christ.' He however satisfied the Boston ministers of his orthodoxy on these points, and three of them, Messrs. Cooper, Welsteed, and Samuel Mather, with Mr. Cooke of Sudbury, and three ministers of Hampshire, composed the council for his ordination, which met October 7, 1735. While they were hearing the charges against Mr. Breck, three justices came from Northampton, and, at the instance of the disaffected in Springfield, and their advisers, signed a warrant 'to apprehend that part of the council, that did not belong to the county of Hampshire.' In consequence of the misgivings of one of them, it was not served; but Mr. Breck was apprehended while before the council, and taken to Connecticut 'to answer to such things as should be objected to him.' He was released the following day. The council, after reading, on the next Sunday, a result, 'advising the first church in Springfield to continue their regards to him,' adjourned to meet in Boston ten days after. The business came into the general court, upon the complaint of the parish, and, it having been decreed by the representatives, after a long hearing, that the council was regularly constituted, the ordination proceeded January 26.

The dispute led to a *Narrative of the Proceedings of those Ministers of the County of Hampshire, &c. written by themselves*, which was followed, the same year, by a pamphlet of nearly a hundred pages, entitled an *Examination of, and some Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled a Narrative, &c.* and this, in 1737, was answered in a *Letter to the Author of the Pamphlet, called an Answer to the Hampshire Narrative*. The *Examination, &c.* is assumed in the *Letter* to be written by Mr. Cooper. If he wrote it, he did few things more honourable to him. It well expounds the true doctrine concerning the rights of churches, the constitution of councils, and the impropriety of interference on the part of associations. It speaks of the

Hampshire ministers as *Presbyterian ministers*. 'They were inquired of,' it is said of the Springfield church, 'whether they had, by any vote, obliged themselves to refer their concerns only to the ministers and churches of that Association. And they declared, No; that, though such a vote had once been projected in the Association, and offered to the churches, and some of the churches had been brought into it, yet, that this church of Springfield, and some others in the county, had refused it.' The authors of the *Letter* say: 'Though now, possibly, your heat of spirit, and contempt of us, may forbid any self-reflections, yet will it always be a comfort to you to think, that you have obtained the victory, and got your will in this case, and have been the instrument of rending the religious state of this county, that before always flourished in an undisturbed and happy union, our religious affairs being, with peace and love, and general consent, managed within ourselves? Will you always be glad, that you have broken up that order, that has hitherto been maintained among the ministers of the county, for the preservation of the purity of doctrine among us, and have laid us under an incapacity for defending ourselves any more from encroaching error, by opening a door, that candidates for the ministry amongst us may go where they will for their judges and approvers?'

During the joint ministry of Colman and W. Cooper, baptism was administered to 1721 persons. The greater part of these were infants, who were generally baptized a few days, and often a few hours after their birth, but very rarely in private. During the first years, several adults were baptized, among whom I observe the name of one of the *undertakers* of the church, and another person, named Peregrine White, who was eighty-four years old. The habit of the colleagues was to alternate by months in the administration of this ordinance, till March, 1738, when Dr. Colman records, 'Henceforward I take the forenoon exercise, and leave the baptisms (as at times of late I have done) to Mr. Cooper.' Baptism was sometimes administered by a neighbouring minister.—Within the same period, 668 persons were received to full communion, viz. 222 men, and 446 women. The period of most rapid increase, was in the year 1728, 'after the earthquake,' as is particularly recorded. In January of that year 27 joined the Church, in February 16, and in March 17. The excitement was extensive. Hutchinson says, Hist. II. 327, 'There was a very general apprehension of danger, of destruction, and death; and many, who had very little sense of religion before, appeared to be very serious and devout penitents; but, too generally, as the fears of another earthquake went off, the religious impressions went with them, and they, who had been the subjects of both, returned to their former course of life.'

March 8, 1718, it was voted, to appropriate to the poor one half of the sums contributed monthly by communicants, provided this half did not

exceed ten pounds annually; 'the other to be applied to the further supply of the communion table with plate.'

In 1720 was instituted 'a monthly lecture to be held the afternoon of every Friday before the administration of the Lord's supper,' and supplied by the pastors of the First Church, and of the Church in Brattle Square. March 4, Dr. Colman preached the first sermon at this lecture, from Exodus xxiv. 9, 10, 11. It has been maintained to the present time.

February 10, 1723. The Church voted 'the keeping of a day of prayer for the effusion of the spirit of grace upon the children of the flock, and the first Tuesday in March was fixed on for the time.' The sermons of both pastors on that occasion were printed.

'December 26, 1736. The Church were informed of the desires of Joseph Rix, Samuel Sprague, John Pierce, to be dismissed from their relation to us, in order to their embodying with brethren from other churches, for the worship of God in New Boston, and their prayer was granted, and the next day the pastors gave them letters of dismission.' This is the only instance, which I find recorded by either of my predecessors, of such a vote being passed by the Church.

A weekly Tuesday evening lecture was set up October 21, 1740. In his sermon on that occasion, from Isaiah lx. 8, Dr. Colman is lavish in his praise of Whitefield. No notice is taken of this lecture in the records, except that Dr. Colman incidentally mentions, that Cooper was present at it the Tuesday before his death. It was kept up as late as January 30, 1750, as there is a published sermon of Foxcroft, which was preached there at that time. It has not been maintained within the memory of any of the Society, with whom I have conversed.

'September 10, 1739. A committee appointed,' the preceding year, 'to consider of a change of version of the Psalms, made their report in the negative, that at present they could not advise to any new version.' 'Soon after, the committee met, and applied to our good brethren, Mr. Macom and Mr. Johnson, and prevailed with 'em to sit together, and lead us in the ordinance of singing.'

For several years the 'prudentials' of the Society were managed by the undertakers. 'July 4, 1715, was the first publick meeting of the whole congregation,' the object of which was to take measures towards obtaining a colleague pastor. In 1721, in the 'time of distress by the small pox, and upon the removal of many out of the town,' there was a deficiency in the voluntary weekly collections, which were made for the support of the ministry. A committee was accordingly appointed 'to treat with the proprietors of the house, about applying part of the money in their hands.' This the proprietors reluctantly consented to do, conceiving it better, as they said, 'that the aforesaid money be kept in bank for the defraying of all contingent charges, that will necessarily and frequently arise on the house; and that, upon every occasion, we may not be put to the trouble of

calling the congregation together to raise the money, in a method yet to be contrived and agreed upon; that while the grass grows, the steed starves.' From this time, a committee, consisting of a treasurer, and from four to six others, was annually chosen 'for the managing the affairs of the house, pews, &c.'

When Mr. Cooper was 'about to marry,' the Society voted, that his salary be three pounds five shillings a week; that his 'firewood be allowed him,' and that he 'be allowed a house to dwell in.' In 1725, the salaries of the colleagues were fixed at four pounds a week each, and 'the congregation were pleased also to vote Mr. Colman thirty pounds this year for house-rent; being the first house-rent ever allowed to him, at the end of twenty-six years.' In 1730, the salaries were raised to six pounds, and, in 1742, to eight pounds a week, 'besides wood and house-rent as in the years past.' 'Considering the fall of money and the dearness of provisions,' extraordinary contributions were also made, from time to time, for the pastors.

The contributions for the poor, customary with us upon the days of annual thanksgiving and fast, began to be taken in 1726. For several years they were directed, from time to time, by a special vote, and the sums collected were sometimes appropriated to meeting the expenses of the Society. These were still defrayed by voluntary contributions on the Lord's day, which often fell short. In 1732, a vote passed to inform the pew-holders, 'that it is expected, that every one, that has a pew below, contribute, at least, half a crown every sabbath, and they that have pews in the gallery, each one, at least, eighteen pence.' The evil still remaining, it was voted, four years after, 'that, for time to come, a subscription be made by every contributor, what he will annually give towards the support of the worship of God among us, to prevent any future annual deficiencies.'

(22.) p. 15. DURING the joint ministry of Dr. Colman and S. Cooper, 70 persons were baptized, and 11 became communicants, viz. 3 men and 8 women. In 1744, the salary of Dr. Colman was raised to £9 a week. In 1746, £10 a week was voted to each of the ministers, and £80 a year for house-rent. The collection for the poor on thanksgiving day, 1745, amounted to £172, and on fast day, 1746, to £132.

In the records, thus far, there is observable a great nicety in the application of titles. In the list of marriages, the appellations Mr. and Mrs. always correspond to one another. They are very sparingly used, and, as if justice had been at first withholden, through this extreme caution, they are, in some instances, inserted by a *carel*. In one place is found the singular combination of The Rev. Jo. Leverett, Esq.

(23.) p. 16. THERE was, perhaps, an intimation of Dr. Colman's wishes in a sermon preached soon after the death of his first colleague, in

which he said, 'God forbid that I should cease to pray for you, that *another Cooper* (I mean one like the deceased) be set over you in the Lord; a man of learning, parts, and powers, such as this place so much wants and calls for.' Mr. Cooper preached once a fortnight, from the time of his invitation till he was ordained. 'April 1st, 1746, he gave, in a sermon, a confession of his faith, to the general satisfaction of the audience.' The ordaining council consisted of the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge. Mr. Webb prayed, Dr. Colman preached from Isaiah vi. 8, Dr. Sewall gave the Charge, and Mr. Prince the Right Hand of Fellowship. A discretion, which has since been understood to belong to the council, was on this occasion exercised by the congregation, who 'voted, at the request of the reverend pastor, Dr. Colman, that, in case he find himself disabled by the infirmities of age, or bodily weakness, to preside in the proposed ordination, pray, and give the charge, with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, then that he be desired to request the Rev. Dr. Sewall, in the name of the Church, to preside and lead in that part of the solemnity.' Mr. Prince, however, spoke in his part of the service, of being 'directed by the reverend pastors and other messengers of the several churches, in council here convened.'

(24.) p. 17. As early as 1754, Dr. Cooper published the *Crisis*, a spirited and well written pamphlet, against the project of an excise, which was favoured by many of his friends, the Whigs, and, after being adopted by the representatives, met, for a time, an unexpected obstacle in the governour. Before and during the revolutionary struggle, Dr. Cooper contributed largely to the Boston Gazette and the Independent Ledger. He was in constant correspondence with our ambassadors, and other persons of note, in France, and on terms of confidential intimacy with the French officers in this country. In calling him, in the paragraph to which this note refers, 'the leading divine of his country and time,' it was not intended to claim for him a place above such men as Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Mayhew. But the peculiar character of the former, and the prejudices, which existed against the latter on the score of doctrine, prevented them from taking that place among the clergy, which was conceded to Dr. Cooper.

(25.) p. 17. DR. COOPER was born March 28, 1725; baptized April 4th, following; and graduated in 1743, the year of his father's death. He lived at different times in a house on the south side of Cambridge Street, at the entrance of Bowdoin Square, now occupied by Dr. Spooner; in a house at the N. W. corner of Dasset's Alley, into which Dr. Colman had moved from State Street in 1715, and which, in 1769, was bought of Stephen Deblois by the Society for a parsonage, for £566.13.4; in the house in Brattle Square, opposite to the church, now occupied by Mrs.

Turell ; and in the parsonage, in Court Street, where James Otis had before had his dwelling and office. A week or two before the battle of Lexington, he removed to Waltham or Weston, and remained in one or both of these places, often making visits to the camp at Cambridge, till the British evacuated the town. Though his death was at last sudden, he had been sick for some weeks. At his funeral, which took place on the afternoon of a monthly lecture, Dr. Clark preached from Acts xx. 38. The following paragraphs are extracted from the sermon :

‘ Justly should I incur the censure of his friends, and greatly should I injure the memory of Dr. Cooper, should I not say, he was a *peculiar ornament* to this religious Society. His talents as a minister were conspicuous to all ; and they have met with universal applause. You know with what plainness, and, at the same time, with what elegance, he displayed the grace of the gospel. You know with what brilliancy of style he adorned the moral virtues ; and how powerfully he recommended them to universal practice. When the joys of a better world employed his discourse, can you ever forget the elevated strains in which he described them ? And his prayers,—surely they must be remembered, when his qualifications for the other duties of his office, and his many shining accomplishments are forgotten ! If those, who constantly attended upon his ministry are not warmed with the love of virtue ; if they are not charmed with the beauty of holiness ; if they are not transported with the grace of the gospel ; must they not blame their own insensibility ? *Remember, therefore, how you have seen, and heard, and hold fast, and repent.*

‘ But the place, in which I now stand, was not the only theatre, on which he appeared with such applause. In private, also, he displayed his talents for the office he sustained. With peculiar facility could he enter into the feelings of others, and adjust his conversation to the particular state of their minds. He could *raise the bowed down, and encourage the feeble hearted.* In the house of mourning, he could light up joy. He could inspire those, who were approaching the shades of death, with Christian fortitude. And, by expatiating on the mercy of God, and the merits of a Saviour, he could revive those, who were ready to despair. Thus various and accomplished his character, how justly are you affected on this occasion !

‘ However, the people of his charge are not the only persons, who mourn this event. The death of their honourable pastor is a general calamity. It is severely felt by all our societies ; and by that, in a particular manner, which has been so long united with this Church in a stated lecture. It is felt by this town, which gloried in him no less as a citizen, than a minister of the gospel. It is felt by the University, to whose honour and interests he was passionately devoted. The governours of that learned society will testify, how ardently he laboured to raise it to superiour



eminence ; and how he encouraged those sciences, the sweets of which he had so early, and so liberally tasted. His death will be lamented by this commonwealth ; and most sincerely by some of the first characters in it ; for with them he was intimately connected, and they distinguished him by every publick token of respect.

‘ In one word, his death will be a common loss to these American states ; for, as a patriot, he was no less celebrated, than as a divine. Well acquainted with the interests of his country, he constantly and ardently pursued them. But while, as a statesman, he discerned what would tend to our glory and happiness, as a minister of religion he prayed it might not be hid from our eyes. And you can tell with what fervour he offered up his supplications.

‘ I might now descend to the more ornamental parts of his character. I might display him as the familiar friend, and the entertaining companion. I might remind you of his correct and elegant taste ; and that most engaging politeness, which rendered him so agreeable in every private circle. But why should I aggravate a wound, which already bleeds too much ? Why should I call up the pleasing image of a person, whom *you shall see no more ?*’

In an obituary notice, appended to the sermon, which was first published in the Continental Journal, and ascribed to the pen of the late Gov. Sullivan, it is said, ‘ The nature of his illness, which, from the first, he apprehended would be his last, was such as rendered him, some part of the time, incapable of conversation.—He had, however, intervals of recollection. At these times he informed his friends, that he was perfectly reconciled to whatever Heaven should appoint ; willing rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord ; that his hopes and consolations sprang from a belief of those evangelical truths, which he had preached to others ; that he wished not to be detained any longer from that higher state of perfection and happiness, which the gospel had opened to his view.

‘ He declared his great satisfaction in seeing his country in peace, and possessed of freedom and independence ; and his hopes, that, by their virtue and publick spirit, they would shew the world, that they were not unworthy those inestimable blessings.’

The following are some lines from a *Monody*, which appeared in the Independent Chronicle of January 8, 1784 :

‘ ’Tis done ! from earth th’ illustrious prophet flies,  
Cooper, the all-accomplish’d Cooper, dies !  
That bosom, where benevolence abode ;  
That form, where nature every grace bestow’d ;  
That eye, where soft persuasion sweetly smil’d,  
Illum’d the heart, and every care beguil’d ;

That tongue, which long, in virtue's cause, combin'd  
Reason and truth, and eloquence refin'd,  
Finished and fraught with all the sacred lore,—  
Is cold—is lifeless—and must charm no more!  
While the pure spirit, which the whole inform'd,  
Glowed in the bosom, and the features warm'd,  
Flown upward, free of elemental clay,  
Explores new mansions in the fields of day.'

'Enlighten'd wisdom crown'd thy youthful head,  
Fair science nurs'd thee, and the muses bred;  
And taste, enamour'd, woo'd to vernal bowers,  
And wreath'd, a favourite, with her choicest flowers;  
While, pleas'd, religion to thy care consign'd  
Her noblest aim, the bliss of human kind.  
Yon hallow'd temple and thy flock forlorn  
Now vainly seek thee on th' accustom'd morn;  
The sacred morn, that usher'd holy days  
All dedicate to pious prayer and praise.  
When on those lips whole auditories hung,  
And truths divine came brilliant from thy tongue,  
Then did devotion beautifully climb,  
In glowing pathos, and the truth sublime;  
Extend to future worlds our wond'ring sight,  
And ravish with ineffable delight.  
Form'd to excel in each ennobled part  
That burnish'd life, or humaniz'd the heart,  
How did thy bright example recommend  
The parent, partner, citizen and friend!  
Warm in affection, wise with finished ease,  
"Intent to reason, or polite to please,"  
In private paths, in every publick line,  
The best associate, statesman and divine!'

Dr. Cooper maintained an extensive correspondence in America and Europe. He was an active member of the Society for propagating the Gospel, and was one of the projectors, and the first vice-president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The University of Edinburgh sent him a diploma of doctor of divinity. He was a useful friend to the College. When the library was burned in 1764, he was very active in procuring means to repair the loss, and was a fellow from 1767 till his death. The following extract from the minutes of the overseers, relates to his election to the presidency:

'At a meeting of the overseers, 10 February, 1774, Dr. Eliot presented the following vote of the corporation :

"At a meeting of the corporation, 7 February, 1774, Dr. Winthrop having declined accepting the office of president, the corporation proceeded to bring in their written votes for a president, and it appeared, that the Rev. Dr. Cooper of Boston was chosen."

'The question being put, the said election was approved. Before the meeting was dissolved, a letter was sent from Dr. C. in which he wholly excused himself from engaging in the duties of the station, to which he had been invited.'

He published sermons :

On the artillery election day, 1751 ;

Before the Society for encouraging Industry, 1753 ;

At the general election, 1756 ;

On the reduction of Quebec, 1759 ;

At the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Jackson, 1760 ;

On the death of George II. 1761 ;

At the Dudleian lecture in Harvard College, 1775 ;

On the commencement of the new constitution of Massachusetts, October 25, 1780.

They are all compositions of very uncommon force and finish. The sermon on the commencement of the new constitution, may, perhaps, be reckoned the best, and the Dudleian lecture the most indifferent. In all of them, I remember but one or two expressions, which a minister of the class now called liberal might not have written. These occur in a compendious sketch of the Christian system, in the excellent discourse at the ordination of Mr. Jackson, and they are so general, that I know not whether they should be named as an exception. The peculiarities of orthodoxy are avoided where the subject seems to lead to them, and the only doxology, which I have observed to be used, is that, 1 Tim. i. 17, of which Unitarians are now left in almost unparticipated possession. 'His religious sentiments,' it is said in the obituary notice above quoted, 'were rational and catholic, being drawn from the gospel of Christ. In them he was ever steady, and, though a friend to the rights of conscience, and a free inquiry, he yet wished to avoid, in his common discourses, those nice and needless distinctions, which had too often proved detrimental to Christian love and union.'

Rev. William Cooper was twice married ; to Judith Sewall, and Mary Foye, daughter of the town treasurer. Of his latter marriage, there was a posthumous child ; a daughter, named Mary. She married Dr. Samuel Gardner of Milton, and had four children ; a son, John, who married a

daughter of the late Treasurer Jackson; and three daughters, one of whom is the wife of John Amory, Esq. By his first marriage, William Cooper had three sons; Thomas, who died young; William, and Samuel; and one daughter, Judith. She married Dr. John Seaver, and William Rand of Kingston, and left a daughter, Lucy, and a son, William. Some of her descendants are now living in that place. Rev. William Cooper's son William was town clerk of Boston. He died December, 1809, at the age of eighty-eight. A son of his is living at Machias, Maine. Samuel Cooper married Judith, a sister of the late Dr. Bulfinch. He had two children, Judith and Abigail. The former married Col. Gabriel Johannot, and died in Boston, leaving one son, Samuel Cooper, who died in Martinique, leaving four children, of whom I learn nothing. The latter, Mrs. Hixon, is now living, a widow, in Concord.

The following, in Dr. Cooper's hand-writing, is on a loose leaf on the files of the Church:

'Oct. 8, 1753. The Church and congregation met, according to adjournment; and the report of the committee, Mr. Dan. Greenleaf moderator, Mr. Lovell, &c. chosen the last meeting to consider if it might be proper to change the version of Psalms we now sing for some other, was read. The report as follows;—but inasmuch as there were but few brethren present, it was voted to defer the consideration of this report to the next meeting, on the first Monday in November; and the brethren present were desired to inform those that were absent of the committee's report; and to confer together upon this stead.

'Nov. 4, Lord's day. I notified the brethren of the Church and congregation of their meeting the next day, according to adjournment; mentioned the affair of the Psalms; and pressed a general attendance upon an affair so important, and that so much concerned every stated worshipper among us.

'Nov. 5. The report of the committee for the Psalms was read, and accepted. It was then motioned, that we did now determine what version to sing; and voted accordingly by a great majority.

'The pastor was then desired to give his opinion. He proposed the version of Tate and Brady, with an addition of Hymns from Dr. Watts and others, to be collected by a committee, which the Church should appoint for that purpose. The brethren, by a written vote, agreed to this. There were present 64 voters. For Tate and Brady's, with an Appendix, 51; for Dr. Watts's Psalms, 5; 8 did not vote.

'The brethren then chose the pastor, with a committee of eight, to prepare the Appendix, viz. Col. Wendell, Mr. D. Greenleaf, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Lovell, Johnson, Bowdoin, Deacon Parker, Wm. Cooper.'

With the exception of five baptisms in 1772, and one without a date, but recorded immediately after those by Dr. Colman, as having been ad-

ministered 'about this time,' all the information, which Dr. Cooper has left on the records of the Church, is comprised in less than twenty lines. It relates to the dedication of the new meeting-house, to the reception of a letter from the church of Bolton, and to Deacon Storer's resignation of his office. When Dr. Thacher succeeded, he made out such a record of marriages and baptisms as he was able from Dr. Cooper's interleaved almanacks. Of some years, however, (as 1751, 1764, and the years from 1778 to his death,) no record of either remains. The recorded administrations of baptism by Dr. Cooper, during his sole ministry, amount to 918.

In 1777, by the will of Lydia Hancock, the Society came into possession of the house and land in Court Street, since occupied by their ministers. The condition of the gift, which has of late been considerably canvassed, is as follows: 'that the minister, or eldest minister of said Church, shall constantly reside and dwell in said house during such time as he is minister of said Church; and in case the same is not improved for this use only, I then declare this bequest to be void and of no force, and order, that said house and land then revert to my estate, and I give the same to my said nephew, John Hancock, Esq. and to his heirs forever.' Mrs. Hancock also gave to the Church £100, the income to be annually appropriated to the relief of the poor. The Society voted to 'receive these pious, charitable, and generous bequests, with great respect and gratitude to the memory of that excellent woman, Madam Lydia Hancock, who was for many years a member of the Church in Brattle Street, an ornament to the Christian profession, and an amiable pattern of piety and virtue.'

A separate record of the proceedings of the standing committee has been kept since Aug. 27, 1763, and of the proceedings of the Society since Feb. 16, 1755. At the latter date, the necessary authority having been just given by law, a committee was chosen for the purpose of assessing a tax upon the pews. The standing committee of that year were 'empowered to use their discretion in making a demand of the taxes on the pews belonging to families gone to decay;' and 'desired to make inquiry after a deed, from Mr. Dasset to this Society, of the privilege of Dasset's Lane, and, when found, (if said deed gives power,) to set up a post with a lock in said lane.'

The committee 'to manage the temporal affairs of the Church and congregation' generally consisted of seven, eight, or nine persons, (most commonly eight,) besides the treasurer. In 1763, they voted to meet regularly five times in each year.

In 1755, Dr. Cooper's allowance was a provision of rent and fuel, with £2. 8s. a week, (lawful money, I suppose,) and 13s. 4d. a week, 'to procure help.' This was raised at different times (in addition to occasional grants) to £5, lawful money, a week, or an equivalent; which equivalent amounted, in 1780, to £360 a week in continental paper.

December 3, 1781, it was 'voted, that the deacons advise with the Rev. Dr. Cooper upon the number of Hymns annexed to Tate and Brady's Psalms, which may be occasionally used by the Society in Brattle Street in publick worship.'

Among the proceedings of the Society, after the death of Dr. Cooper, was the appointment of a committee, of which the late Gov. Sullivan and Judge Lowell were members, to select a volume from his sermons for the press. They were not, however, found in a condition to admit of it. At the funeral, Rev. President Willard, (who made the prayer,) and Rev. Messrs. Howard, Eliot, Eckley, Clark and Wight, of Boston, supported the pall.

(26.) p. 18. THE old church was never painted, within or without. The tower and bell were on the west side, and a door on the south, opposite to the pulpit. The window frames were of iron. Upon the pulpit stood an hour-glass, which is described as having been a foot high, and enclosed in a case, which was either brass or gilt. This was among the articles, which, in the sale of the old house, were 'reserved for the use of the Society;' but I do not find, that it was used after the new house was occupied. The old pulpit, bible and bell, were given to Gov. Hancock, on the condition of replacing them with new ones in the new house. Beneath the pulpit were two seats for deacons, which, it seems, were afterwards thrown into one, as, in the record of such an alteration at the New Brick church, it is said to have been made 'as has been lately done at the Old North, and at Mr. Cooper's.' Before it were rows of free seats. The pews were square, and ornamented with the small railing upon the top, which is still seen in many of our churches. The highest number in a list of pews on the floor is 99. In 1766, it was voted, 'that two new pews shall be made in the meeting-house, on the floor, in the room of the *two back long seats*.' There were two galleries, each of them, probably, fitted with pews, as, in 1723, 'it was recommended to the committee to fill with persons proper the vacant pews in the galleries; that the negroes be directed to leave the back seats of the lower, and go into those of the upper gallery.' Some place seems to have been appropriated to children, as, at the same time, the committee were desired to 'dismiss Roger from looking after the boys, and provide some fitter person.'

(27.) p. 18. THE building of churches was a less simple operation in those times than the present. This was engaged in as a very serious enterprise. 'At a meeting of the standing committee at Mr. Bowdoin's, Feb. 6, 1772, John Hancock, Esq. having put in a letter generously offering to contribute largely towards a new meeting-house,' the committee voted to call a meeting of the Society to consider the subject. At this meeting it was unanimously voted to take measures for the erection of a new house

of worship, and committees were appointed to procure subscriptions, and estimates of the cost. Subscriptions to the amount of £3200 having been received within a week, a building committee of twelve was appointed. The committee were 'of opinion, that the land belonging to the Society would not be sufficient to build a commodious house.' Gov. Bowdoin accordingly offered to give the Society his lot at the corner of Howard Street and Pemberton's Hill; but the matter being referred to them, 'it appeared, that there was a considerable majority for building on the old spot in Brattle Street,' and the offer was respectfully declined. On the last day of meeting in the old house, a contribution was taken, that those who had not subscribed might 'have an opportunity of giving towards the new building, if they see cause.' The old house was taken down, and the ground cleared, between May 14 and 18. Mr. Copely and Major Dawes presented plans for the new building. The former was rejected on account of the expense. The latter was adopted. June 23, the corner stone was laid by Major Thomas Dawes, the architect, 'in the foundation at the south-west corner of the house, having this inscription ;

'June 23d,

1772.

S. COOPER, D. D.

Minister.

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'The day after laying the corner stone, some of the committee, taking into consideration what was proper to be done with a stone taken out of the south-east corner of the foundation of the original building, having the inscription BENJAMIN WALKER thereon, ordered the figures 1699 to be added thereto, being the year that the first meeting-house in Brattle Street was founded, and then the stone was laid in the foundation of the south-east corner of the new house.' 'The name of the HON. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq. was inscribed on one of the rustick quoins [of Connecticut stone] at the south-west corner of the new building.'

While the house was erecting, the building committee had their office in the south-east chamber of the house in Brattle Square, then occupied by Mrs. Turell, and now by Deacon Simpkins. By the autumn, they had exhausted their funds, and were largely in debt. A subscription for pews was accordingly opened, each subscriber advancing not less than £30. The house cost £8000. The most valuable pews were appraised at £50. When it was occupied, several remained unsold, and there was still a debt of £750 to the mechanicks, which was not paid off till the ministry of Dr. Thacher. Major Dawes did one half of the masons' work; and William Homer, Benjamin Richardson, and David Bell, the other. One half of the carpenters'

work was done by Benjamin Eustis and ——— Crafts; one quarter by Benjamin Sumner, jun. and James Sumner; and the other by John Stutson and Nathaniel Call, on an agreement 'that these two companies should proportionably admit William Flag, James Robbins, Benjamin Sumner, Joseph Eustis and ——— Appleton to a part of the work at the same rate.' Capt. John Gore and Mr. Daniel Rae were the painters.

There were seventy-five 'free gift' subscribers. The most liberal subscriptions were those of Gov. Hancock and Gov. Bowdoin. The latter gave £200. The former gave £1000, reserving to himself 'the particular disposition of the sum, and the beginning and completing a mahogany pulpit, with its full furniture, a mahogany deacons' seat, and communion table, under his own direction,' and the providing for the accommodation of poor widows and others, belonging to the Society, who are reputable persons, and unable to furnish themselves with seats, &c.' In addition to this, he gave a bell. A temporary pine pulpit was first erected, that which was engaged by him of Mr. Crafts not being finished when the house was occupied.

Some approximation to an estimate of the size of the Society, at this period, may be made from the circumstance, that eighty-one voters are recorded by name to have been present at a meeting in 1773, and it is added, that there were several others.

In part of the years 1775 and 1776, a regiment or two of British troops were quartered in the church, a sugar-house which stood north of it, and other houses in the neighbourhood. Dr. Cooper was not seldom a subject of their notice in passing into the church at service time, while they were paraded in the square. Divine service continued to be performed till 'April 16, 1775, when, by the cruelty and oppression of an infamous administration, the congregation was dispersed, and the house improved as a barrack for the British soldiery, till, by a most remarkable interposition of Divine Providence, the troops were obliged to evacuate the town on the 17th March, 1776.' Gen. Gage had his head quarters in the house opposite the church. He told Mr. Turell, he had no fear of the shot from Cambridge, for his troops, while within such walls. The morning on which the British left the town, Deacon Newell and Mr. Turell went into the church, and quenched the fires, which they had left burning. A shot struck the tower the night before. It was picked up by Mr. Turell, and preserved by his family till the committee for making the late repairs had it fastened in the tower where it had struck.

When the British were about to occupy the church, Deacon Gore and Deacon Newell were permitted to case up the pulpit and columns, and remove the body pews, which were carried to the paint loft of the former. The soldiers defaced the inscription of Gov. Hancock's name, mentioned p. 64, and the stone remains in the condition in which they left it. A



which he said, 'God forbid that I should cease to pray for you, that *another Cooper* (I mean one like the deceased) be set over you in the Lord; a man of learning, parts, and powers, such as this place so much wants and calls for.' Mr. Cooper preached once a fortnight, from the time of his invitation till he was ordained. 'April 1st, 1746, he gave, in a sermon, a confession of his faith, to the general satisfaction of the audience.' The ordaining council consisted of the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge. Mr. Webb prayed, Dr. Colman preached from Isaiah vi. 8, Dr. Sewall gave the Charge, and Mr. Prince the Right Hand of Fellowship. A discretion, which has since been understood to belong to the council, was on this occasion exercised by the congregation, who 'voted, at the request of the reverend pastor, Dr. Colman, that, in case he find himself disabled by the infirmities of age, or bodily weakness, to preside in the proposed ordination, pray, and give the charge, with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, then that he be desired to request the Rev. Dr. Sewall, in the name of the Church, to preside and lead in that part of the solemnity.' Mr. Prince, however, spoke in his part of the service, of being 'directed by the reverend pastors and other messengers of the several churches, in council here convened.'

(24.) p. 17. As early as 1754, Dr. Cooper published the *Crisis*, a spirited and well written pamphlet, against the project of an excise, which was favoured by many of his friends, the Whigs, and, after being adopted by the representatives, met, for a time, an unexpected obstacle in the governour. Before and during the revolutionary struggle, Dr. Cooper contributed largely to the Boston Gazette and the Independent Ledger. He was in constant correspondence with our ambassadors, and other persons of note, in France, and on terms of confidential intimacy with the French officers in this country. In calling him, in the paragraph to which this note refers, 'the leading divine of his country and time,' it was not intended to claim for him a place above such men as Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Mayhew. But the peculiar character of the former, and the prejudices, which existed against the latter on the score of doctrine, prevented them from taking that place among the clergy, which was conceded to Dr. Cooper.

(25.) p. 17. DR. COOPER was born March 28, 1725; baptized April 4th, following; and graduated in 1743, the year of his father's death. He lived at different times in a house on the south side of Cambridge Street, at the entrance of Bowdoin Square, now occupied by Dr. Spooner; in a house at the N. W. corner of Dasset's Alley, into which Dr. Colman had moved from State Street in 1715, and which, in 1769, was bought of Stephen Deblois by the Society for a parsonage, for £566.13.4; in the house in Brattle Square, opposite to the church, now occupied by Mrs.

Turell; and in the parsonage, in Court Street, where James Otis had before had his dwelling and office. A week or two before the battle of Lexington, he removed to Waltham or Weston, and remained in one or both of these places, often making visits to the camp at Cambridge, till the British evacuated the town. Though his death was at last sudden, he had been sick for some weeks. At his funeral, which took place on the afternoon of a monthly lecture, Dr. Clark preached from Acts xx. 38. The following paragraphs are extracted from the sermon:

‘Justly should I incur the censure of his friends, and greatly should I injure the memory of Dr. Cooper, should I not say, he was a *peculiar ornament* to this religious Society. His talents as a minister were conspicuous to all; and they have met with universal applause. You know with what plainness, and, at the same time, with what elegance, he displayed the grace of the gospel. You know with what brilliancy of style he adorned the moral virtues; and how powerfully he recommended them to universal practice. When the joys of a better world employed his discourse, can you ever forget the elevated strains in which he described them? And his prayers,—surely they must be remembered, when his qualifications for the other duties of his office, and his many shining accomplishments are forgotten! If those, who constantly attended upon his ministry are not warmed with the love of virtue; if they are not charmed with the beauty of holiness; if they are not transported with the grace of the gospel; must they not blame their own insensibility? *Remember, therefore, how you have seen, and heard, and hold fast, and repent.*

‘But the place, in which I now stand, was not the only theatre, on which he appeared with such applause. In private, also, he displayed his talents for the office he sustained. With peculiar facility could he enter into the feelings of others, and adjust his conversation to the particular state of their minds. He could *raise the bowed down, and encourage the feeble hearted.* In the house of mourning, he could light up joy. He could inspire those, who were approaching the shades of death, with Christian fortitude. And, by expatiating on the mercy of God, and the merits of a Saviour, he could revive those, who were ready to despair. Thus various and accomplished his character, how justly are you affected on this occasion!

‘However, the people of his charge are not the only persons, who mourn this event. The death of their honourable pastor is a general calamity. It is severely felt by all our societies; and by that, in a particular manner, which has been so long united with this Church in a stated lecture. It is felt by this town, which gloried in him no less as a citizen, than a minister of the gospel. It is felt by the University, to whose honour and interests he was passionately devoted. The governours of that learned society will testify, how ardently he laboured to raise it to superiour

ready fund for uses of piety and charity, as they may see occasion.' This fund was to be 'lodged in the hands of the deacons of each of the churches where it is gathered, or whomsoever the church shall appoint to that trust,' and the 'first and main intention' of it to 'be the propagation of religion in ungospelized places; and the dispersing bibles, catechisms, and other instruments of piety among the poor.'

(18.) p. 13. THE second of Dr. Colman's three marriages was with the widow of Pres. Leverett. His biographer is as reserved concerning this connexion, as he is warm in his eulogies of the other two. None of Dr. Colman's children survived him. His only son died in infancy, and his oldest daughter, to whom he was tenderly attached, twelve years before himself. The misconduct of another daughter was the great affliction of his life.

(19.) p. 14. THE overseers approved the election of Dr. Colman for president by a unanimous vote. The reference in the vote of the representatives to 'this being a matter of great weight and importance, especially to the establishment of the churches in this province, as well as to the college,' seems to point to Dr. Colman's heterodox views of church order as the cause of their opposition. In the course of the debate he was however declared to be 'a man of no learning compared with Dr. Mather,' who was the popular candidate.

(20.) p. 15. IN 1741, eighty-five persons became communicants with the Church in Brattle Square, and in 1742, forty-two. An anonymous writer of the time says, in reference to Cooper's preaching, 'that pulpit, which had been consecrated by the *first sermon* of the glorious itinerant, has echoed nothing ever since but his praise and the glory of his work.' If this was accurate, the first sermon must have been preached at a lecture, as Whitefield says, in one of his letters to Dr. Chauncy: 'I was but three Lord's days in Boston. The first I heard the Rev. Dr. Colman in the forenoon, notwithstanding he asked me to preach after he was up in the pulpit, and had finished the first prayer. I would also have been an auditor in the afternoon, had not Mr. Foxcroft pressed me to preach for him.' Mr. Ashley, against whom Cooper wrote for preaching a sermon in the latter's desk reflecting on the disorders of the times, after referring in his reply to the alleged dissatisfaction of some of his hearers, adds, 'these are not half the number of those who heard me and gave me thanks.' That Dr. Colman was believed to be of their mind, is hinted by the anonymous writer above referred to, in another pamphlet. Mr. Cooper, he says, gives no account of his colleague's 'opinion of this sermon, though he was present at the delivery of it. But the reason of this may be easily guessed; for the doctor has given too many proofs

of his good sense and fine taste, to leave room for the world to doubt of his sentiments in this matter.' Dr. Colman wrote, in a letter to Mr. Williams of Lebanon, 'It is, at this day, enough to make the heart of a sober and considerate Christian bleed within him, to hear of the sore rents and divisions made by Mr. Davenport and others in a great number of towns and churches throughout our provinces. Almost all on Long Island are thus broken to pieces, and so are many in Connecticut, and with us of the Massachusetts to a sorrowful degree.' And, in his sermon at the ordination of S. Cooper, he expresses his 'wish before God and in his fear, that those among ourselves, who have of late years taken upon them to go about exhorting and preaching, grossly unfurnished with ministerial gifts and knowledge, would suffer those words of the Lord, [Jeremiah xxiii. 31, 32.] to sink deep into their hearts, to check them in their bold career, and blind censures of many faithful pastors, into whose folds they are daily breaking, and because of the mildness of our spirits towards them, seem to grow the more bold and fierce. And it were greatly to be wished, that people would beware of such straggling, illiterate teachers, and avoid them, in whatever appearances of sheep's clothing they may come.' Cooper's feeling on the subject appears from the following extract of a preface written by him for a sermon by Jonathan Edwards, about a year after the revival began : 'If any are resolutely set to disbelieve this work, to reproach and oppose it, they must be left to the free, sovereign power and mercy of God to enlighten and rescue them. These, if they have had opportunity to be rightly informed, I am ready to think, would have been disbelievers and opposers of the miracles and mission of our Saviour, had they lived in his day. The malignity, which some of them have discovered, to me approaches near to the unpardonable sin ; and they had need beware, lest they indeed sin the sin which is unto death.'

(21.) p. 15. MR. COOPER was a native of Boston. His father died when he was very young. His mother was called by Colman, in his sermon upon her death, 'the woman that one would have wished to be born of.' He was graduated in 1712, and chosen president in 1737. The following extract from the overseers' records relates to his election :

'At an overseers' meeting at the college, 4th May, 1737,

'The forenoon was spent in prayer.

'P. M. The overseers, having given their advice to the corporation by a Latin speech made by the governour about the general qualifications of a president, the corporation withdrew.

'The corporation, returning to the overseers' board, informed them, that they had endeavoured to come to the choice of a president, but could not then come to a decisive vote, and therefore thought it needful to take some further time to deliberate on that affair, and hoped, the honourable and reverend overseers would agree with them in that their thought ; and then

the corporation withdrew. And, after some time, the overseers sent for the corporation, and told them, that they expected the corporation would present their choice of a president to them at their next meeting, which would be the 26th instant.'

'At an overseers' meeting, at the council chamber, Boston, 26th May, 1737,

'Two votes of the corporation, respecting the choice of the Rev. William Cooper to the office of president of Harvard College, were read at the board.

'Whereupon immediately there was read a letter from Mr. Cooper to the overseers, in which he said, that "having been informed by a message from the reverend corporation of the college of his election to be president of that society, and that the said election was this day to be presented to the board of overseers, and being unwilling that the honourable and reverend board should have any needless trouble given them, or the settlement of the college be at all delayed on his account, he took this first opportunity wholly to excuse himself from that honour and trust." 'President Holyoke was soon after elected.

'I am a witness,' says Colman, in his sermon at Cooper's funeral, 'to his early, serious and steady inclinations to serve God and his generation, by his holy will, in the work of the ministry; and that in his childhood he was in this a Timothy, that he knew the holy Scripture and studied his Bible, that he might be made wise to salvation.' 'On the day that he heard the first sermon that was preached in this house, being then but seven years old, he set himself to read like me as soon as he came home; and I ought to thank God if I have served any way to the forming him for his since eminent pulpit-services, and in particular his method of preaching Christ and Scripture: So a torch may be light at a farthing candle.' 'His profiting at school and college was remarkable, like his diligent study.' 'He came out at once, to a very great degree, a perfect preacher, when he first appeared in the pulpit at Cambridge, as Mr. President Leverett at the time observed to me.' 'With what light and power (by the help of God) he has since continued to preach the doctrines of grace, with the laws and motives of the gospel, is known to you all.' 'His sermons were well studied, smelt of the lamp, and told us how well his head and heart had been labouring for us from week to week; and how intent his mind and desire was, so to speak to us in the name of God, and from his oracles, as might best inform our minds, strike our affections, and enter into our consciences. But when he led us in prayers and supplication, praises and thanksgivings to God, in one administration and another, more especially of the sacraments of the New Testament, baptism and the Lord's supper; then his eminence appeared, in such a flow, propriety and fulness, as could not but often surprize the intelligent worshipper, and bear away the spiritual and truly devout, as on angels' wings, toward heaven, He came near to the throne,

and filled his mouth with arguments.' 'In the pulpit and out of it, he was, like Phinehas, zealous for his God, a faithful reprovcr of sin, and earnest to make atonement for it.' 'He neither sought glory of men, nor feared the faces of a multitude, nor did the contempt of families terrify him: He was endowed and formed to lead, advise and execute; and indeed was not easily turned. He thought, judged and fixed, and then it was hard to move him. God pleased greatly to own his ministry, publick and private, for saving good to souls, and gave him many seals of it, more especially (as he judged) of late years, in whom he had much joy, and they a vast honour and reverence for him.' 'He is gone from us in the prime of life and usefulness, while his strength was firm, promising many more years of service.' 'I can truly say, (as I said in tears over the dear remains on the day of its interment,) that, had I the like confidence of my own actual readiness to be offered, I had much rather, for your sake and the churches' through the land, have chosen to die in his stead, might he have lived to my years, and served on to the glory of God.'

In the letter quoted page 13, Dr. Chapncy characterized Mr. Cooper as 'a good preacher, eminently gifted in prayer, and a man of good understanding, though not endowed with a great deal of learning, or an uncommon strength in any of his powers.'

Mr. Cooper published, in 1721, a very spirited and judicious pamphlet in the controversy respecting inoculation for the small pox.

The following is the most complete list I have been able to make of his other publications:

A sermon on the incomprehensibleness of God. 17—

———— shewing how and why young people should cleanse their way. 1716.

———— addressed to young people on a day of prayer, March 5, 1723.  
'God's concern for a godly seed.'

———— on the death of John Corey. 1726.

Blessedness of the tried saint. 1727.

A sermon on early piety. 1728.

———— on the reality, extremity and absolute certainty of hell torments. 1732.

———— on the death of Lieut. Gov. Tailer. 1732.

———— on the death of Moses Abbot. 1734.

———— at the ordination of Robert Breck at Springfield. 1736.

———— on winter. *Concio Hyemalis*. 1737.

———— on the death of the Rev. Peter Thacher. 1739.

The doctrine of predestination into life explained and vindicated, in four sermons. 1740. Reprinted in London, 1765, and in Boston, 1804.

A sermon delivered on the day of general election. 1740.

——— from Luke xvii. 34, 35, 36, preached at the Old South church. 1741.

Two sermons preached at Portsmouth, N. H. 1741.

Mr. Cooper was moderator of the council when he preached the ordination sermon at Springfield. The occasion was attended with great excitement. Mr. Breck was obnoxious to the Hampshire Association, being accused, among other things, of denying the authenticity of 1 John, v. 7, and of maintaining, 'that God might, consistent with his justice, forgive sin without any satisfaction;' 'that, upon supposition that the decrees of God were absolute or unchangeable, he saw no encouragement to duty, seeing then, let men do what they could, or neglect, it could not alter their condition;' 'that it was unjust for God to punish men for not doing what was not now in their power;' and 'that the heathen that lived up to the light of nature, should not be damned for want of faith in Christ.' He however satisfied the Boston ministers of his orthodoxy on these points, and three of them, Messrs. Cooper, Welsteed, and Samuel Mather, with Mr. Cooke of Sudbury, and three ministers of Hampshire, composed the council for his ordination, which met October 7, 1735. While they were hearing the charges against Mr. Breck, three justices came from Northampton, and, at the instance of the disaffected in Springfield, and their advisers, signed a warrant 'to apprehend that part of the council, that did not belong to the county of Hampshire.' In consequence of the misgivings of one of them, it was not served; but Mr. Breck was apprehended while before the council, and taken to Connecticut 'to answer to such things as should be objected to him.' He was released the following day. The council, after reading, on the next Sunday, a result, 'advising the first church in Springfield to continue their regards to him,' adjourned to meet in Boston ten days after. The business came into the general court, upon the complaint of the parish, and, it having been decreed by the representatives, after a long hearing, that the council was regularly constituted, the ordination proceeded January 26.

The dispute led to a *Narrative of the Proceedings of those Ministers of the County of Hampshire, &c. written by themselves*, which was followed, the same year, by a pamphlet of nearly a hundred pages, entitled an *Examination of, and some Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled a Narrative, &c.* and this, in 1737, was answered in a *Letter to the Author of the Pamphlet, called an Answer to the Hampshire Narrative*. The *Examination, &c.* is assumed in the *Letter* to be written by Mr. Cooper. If he wrote it, he did few things more honourable to him. It well expounds the true doctrine concerning the rights of churches, the constitution of councils, and the impropriety of interference on the part of associations. It speaks of the

Hampshire ministers as *Presbyterian ministers*. 'They were inquired of,' it is said of the Springfield church, 'whether they had, by any vote, obliged themselves to refer their concerns only to the ministers and churches of that Association. And they declared, No; that, though such a vote had once been projected in the Association, and offered to the churches, and some of the churches had been brought into it, yet, that this church of Springfield, and some others in the county, had refused it.' The authors of the *Letter* say: 'Though now, possibly, your heat of spirit, and contempt of us, may forbid any self-reflections, yet will it always be a comfort to you to think, that you have obtained the victory, and got your will in this case, and have been the instrument of rending the religious state of this county, that before always flourished in an undisturbed and happy union, our religious affairs being, with peace and love, and general consent, managed within ourselves? Will you always be glad, that you have broken up that order, that has hitherto been maintained among the ministers of the county, for the preservation of the purity of doctrine among us, and have laid us under an incapacity for defending ourselves any more from encroaching error, by opening a door, that candidates for the ministry amongst us may go where they will for their judges and approvers?'

During the joint ministry of Colman and W. Cooper, baptism was administered to 1721 persons. The greater part of these were infants, who were generally baptized a few days, and often a few hours after their birth, but very rarely in private. During the first years, several adults were baptized, among whom I observe the name of one of the *undertakers* of the church, and another person, named Peregrine White, who was eighty-four years old. The habit of the colleagues was to alternate by months in the administration of this ordinance, till March, 1738, when Dr. Colman records, 'Henceforward I take the forenoon exercise, and leave the baptisms (as at times of late I have done) to Mr. Cooper.' Baptism was sometimes administered by a neighbouring minister.—Within the same period, 668 persons were received to full communion, viz. 222 men, and 446 women. The period of most rapid increase, was in the year 1728, 'after the earthquake,' as is particularly recorded. In January of that year 27 joined the Church, in February 16, and in March 17. The excitement was extensive. Hutchinson says, Hist. II. 327, 'There was a very general apprehension of danger, of destruction, and death; and many, who had very little sense of religion before, appeared to be very serious and devout penitents; but, too generally, as the fears of another earthquake went off, the religious impressions went with them, and they, who had been the subjects of both, returned to their former course of life.'

March 8, 1718, it was voted, to appropriate to the poor one half of the sums contributed monthly by communicants, provided this half did not



exceed ten pounds annually; 'the other to be applied to the further supply of the communion table with plate.'

In 1720 was instituted 'a monthly lecture to be held the afternoon of every Friday before the administration of the Lord's supper,' and supplied by the pastors of the First Church, and of the Church in Brattle Square. March 4, Dr. Colman preached the first sermon at this lecture, from Exodus xxiv. 9, 10, 11. It has been maintained to the present time.

February 10, 1723. The Church voted 'the keeping of a day of prayer for the effusion of the spirit of grace upon the children of the flock, and the first Tuesday in March was fixed on for the time.' The sermons of both pastors on that occasion were printed.

'December 26, 1736. The Church were informed of the desires of Joseph Rix, Samuel Sprague, John Pierce, to be dismissed from their relation to us, in order to their embodying with brethren from other churches, for the worship of God in New Boston, and their prayer was granted, and the next day the pastors gave them letters of dismission.' This is the only instance, which I find recorded by either of my predecessors, of such a vote being passed by the Church.

A weekly Tuesday evening lecture was set up October 21, 1740. In his sermon on that occasion, from Isaiah lx. 8, Dr. Colman is lavish in his praise of Whitefield. No notice is taken of this lecture in the records, except that Dr. Colman incidentally mentions, that Cooper was present at it the Tuesday before his death. It was kept up as late as January 30, 1750, as there is a published sermon of Foxcroft, which was preached there at that time. It has not been maintained within the memory of any of the Society, with whom I have conversed.

'September 10, 1739. A committee appointed,' the preceding year, 'to consider of a change of version of the Psalms, made their report in the negative, that at present they could not advise to any new version.' 'Soon after, the committee met, and applied to our good brethren, Mr. Macom and Mr. Johnson, and prevailed with 'em to sit together, and lead us in the ordinance of singing.'

For several years the 'prudentials' of the Society were managed by the undertakers. 'July 4, 1715, was the first publick meeting of the whole congregation,' the object of which was to take measures towards obtaining a colleague pastor. In 1721, in the 'time of distress by the small pox, and upon the removal of many out of the town,' there was a deficiency in the voluntary weekly collections, which were made for the support of the ministry. A committee was accordingly appointed 'to treat with the proprietors of the house, about applying part of the money in their hands.' This the proprietors reluctantly consented to do, conceiving it better, as they said, 'that the aforesaid money be kept in bank for the defraying of all contingent charges, that will necessarily and frequently arise on the house; and that, upon every occasion, we may not be put to the trouble of

calling the congregation together to raise the money, in a method yet to be contrived and agreed upon; that while the grass grows, the steed starves.' From this time, a committee, consisting of a treasurer, and from four to six others, was annually chosen 'for the managing the affairs of the house, pews, &c.'

When Mr. Cooper was 'about to marry,' the Society voted, that his salary be three pounds five shillings a week; that his 'firewood be allowed him,' and that he 'be allowed a house to dwell in.' In 1725, the salaries of the colleagues were fixed at four pounds a week each, and 'the congregation were pleased also to vote Mr. Colman thirty pounds this year for house-rent; being the first house-rent ever allowed to him, at the end of twenty-six years.' In 1730, the salaries were raised to six pounds, and, in 1742, to eight pounds a week, 'besides wood and house-rent as in the years past.' 'Considering the fall of money and the dearness of provisions,' extraordinary contributions were also made, from time to time, for the pastors.

The contributions for the poor, customary with us upon the days of annual thanksgiving and fast, began to be taken in 1726. For several years they were directed, from time to time, by a special vote, and the sums collected were sometimes appropriated to meeting the expenses of the Society. These were still defrayed by voluntary contributions on the Lord's day, which often fell short. In 1732, a vote passed to inform the pew-holders, 'that it is expected, that every one, that has a pew below, contribute, at least, half a crown every sabbath, and they that have pews in the gallery, each one, at least, eighteen pence.' The evil still remaining, it was voted, four years after, 'that, for time to come, a subscription be made by every contributor, what he will annually give towards the support of the worship of God among us, to prevent any future annual deficiencies.'

(22.) p. 15. DURING the joint ministry of Dr. Colman and S. Cooper, 70 persons were baptized, and 11 became communicants, viz. 3 men and 8 women. In 1744, the salary of Dr. Colman was raised to £9 a week. In 1746, £10 a week was voted to each of the ministers, and £80 a year for house-rent. The collection for the poor on thanksgiving day, 1745, amounted to £172, and on fast day, 1746, to £132.

In the records, thus far, there is observable a great nicety in the application of titles. In the list of marriages, the appellations Mr. and Mrs. always correspond to one another. They are very sparingly used, and, as if justice had been at first withholden, through this extreme caution, they are, in some instances, inserted by a *caret*. In one place is found the singular combination of The Rev. Jo. Leverett, Esq.

(23.) p. 16. THERE was, perhaps, an intimation of Dr. Colman's wishes in a sermon preached soon after the death of his first colleague, in

which he said, 'God forbid that I should cease to pray for you, that *another Cooper* (I mean one like the deceased) be set over you in the Lord; a man of learning, parts, and powers, such as this place so much wants and calls for.' Mr. Cooper preached once a fortnight, from the time of his invitation till he was ordained. 'April 1st, 1746, he gave, in a sermon, a confession of his faith, to the general satisfaction of the audience.' The ordaining council consisted of the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge. Mr. Webb prayed, Dr. Colman preached from Isaiah vi. 8, Dr. Sewall gave the Charge, and Mr. Prince the Right Hand of Fellowship. A discretion, which has since been understood to belong to the council, was on this occasion exercised by the congregation, who 'voted, at the request of the reverend pastor, Dr. Colman, that, in case he find himself disabled by the infirmities of age, or bodily weakness, to preside in the proposed ordination, pray, and give the charge, with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, then that he be desired to request the Rev. Dr. Sewall, in the name of the Church, to preside and lead in that part of the solemnity.' Mr. Prince, however, spoke in his part of the service, of being 'directed by the reverend pastors and other messengers of the several churches, in council here convened.'

(24.) p. 17. As early as 1754, Dr. Cooper published the *Crisis*, a spirited and well written pamphlet, against the project of an excise, which was favoured by many of his friends, the Whigs, and, after being adopted by the representatives, met, for a time, an unexpected obstacle in the governour. Before and during the revolutionary struggle, Dr. Cooper contributed largely to the Boston Gazette and the Independent Ledger. He was in constant correspondence with our ambassadors, and other persons of note, in France, and on terms of confidential intimacy with the French officers in this country. In calling him, in the paragraph to which this note refers, 'the leading divine of his country and time,' it was not intended to claim for him a place above such men as Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Mayhew. But the peculiar character of the former, and the prejudices, which existed against the latter on the score of doctrine, prevented them from taking that place among the clergy, which was conceded to Dr. Cooper.

(25.) p. 17. DR. COOPER was born March 28, 1725; baptized April 4th, following; and graduated in 1743, the year of his father's death. He lived at different times in a house on the south side of Cambridge Street, at the entrance of Bowdoin Square, now occupied by Dr. Spooner; in a house at the N. W. corner of Dasset's Alley, into which Dr. Colman had moved from State Street in 1715, and which, in 1769, was bought of Stephen Deblois by the Society for a parsonage, for £566.13.4; in the house in Brattle Square, opposite to the church, now occupied by Mrs.

Turell; and in the parsonage, in Court Street, where James Otis had before had his dwelling and office. A week or two before the battle of Lexington, he removed to Waltham or Weston, and remained in one or both of these places, often making visits to the camp at Cambridge, till the British evacuated the town. Though his death was at last sudden, he had been sick for some weeks. At his funeral, which took place on the afternoon of a monthly lecture, Dr. Clark preached from Acts xx. 38. The following paragraphs are extracted from the sermon:

‘Justly should I incur the censure of his friends, and greatly should I injure the memory of Dr. Cooper, should I not say, he was a *peculiar ornament* to this religious Society. His talents as a minister were conspicuous to all; and they have met with universal applause. You know with what plainness, and, at the same time, with what elegance, he displayed the grace of the gospel. You know with what brilliancy of style he adorned the moral virtues; and how powerfully he recommended them to universal practice. When the joys of a better world employed his discourse, can you ever forget the elevated strains in which he described them? And his prayers,—surely they must be remembered, when his qualifications for the other duties of his office, and his many shining accomplishments are forgotten! If those, who constantly attended upon his ministry are not warmed with the love of virtue; if they are not charmed with the beauty of holiness; if they are not transported with the grace of the gospel; must they not blame their own insensibility? *Remember, therefore, how you have seen, and heard, and hold fast, and repent.*

‘But the place, in which I now stand, was not the only theatre, on which he appeared with such applause. In private, also, he displayed his talents for the office he sustained. With peculiar facility could he enter into the feelings of others, and adjust his conversation to the particular state of their minds. He could *raise the bowed down, and encourage the feeble hearted.* In the house of mourning, he could light up joy. He could inspire those, who were approaching the shades of death, with Christian fortitude. And, by expatiating on the mercy of God, and the merits of a Saviour, he could revive those, who were ready to despair. Thus various and accomplished his character, how justly are you affected on this occasion!

‘However, the people of his charge are not the only persons, who mourn this event. The death of their honourable pastor is a general calamity. It is severely felt by all our societies; and by that, in a particular manner, which has been so long united with this Church in a stated lecture. It is felt by this town, which gloried in him no less as a citizen, than a minister of the gospel. It is felt by the University, to whose honour and interests he was passionately devoted. The governours of that learned society will testify, how ardently he laboured to raise it to superiour

eminence ; and how he encouraged those sciences, the sweets of which he had so early, and so liberally tasted. His death will be lamented by this commonwealth ; and most sincerely by some of the first characters in it ; for with them he was intimately connected, and they distinguished him by every publick token of respect.

‘ In one word, his death will be a common loss to these American states ; for, as a patriot, he was no less celebrated, than as a divine. Well acquainted with the interests of his country, he constantly and ardently pursued them. But while, as a statesman, he discerned what would tend to our glory and happiness, as a minister of religion he prayed it might not be hid from our eyes. And you can tell with what fervour he offered up his supplications.

‘ I might now descend to the more ornamental parts of his character. I might display him as the familiar friend, and the entertaining companion. I might remind you of his correct and elegant taste ; and that most engaging politeness, which rendered him so agreeable in every private circle. But why should I aggravate a wound, which already bleeds too much ? Why should I call up the pleasing image of a person, whom *you shall see no more ?*’

In an obituary notice, appended to the sermon, which was first published in the Continental Journal, and ascribed to the pen of the late Gov. Sullivan, it is said, ‘ The nature of his illness, which, from the first, he apprehended would be his last, was such as rendered him, some part of the time, incapable of conversation.—He had, however, intervals of recollection. At these times he informed his friends, that he was perfectly reconciled to whatever Heaven should appoint ; willing rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord ; that his hopes and consolations sprang from a belief of those evangelical truths, which he had preached to others ; that he wished not to be detained any longer from that higher state of perfection and happiness, which the gospel had opened to his view.

‘ He declared his great satisfaction in seeing his country in peace, and possessed of freedom and independence ; and his hopes, that, by their virtue and publick spirit, they would shew the world, that they were not unworthy those inestimable blessings.’

The following are some lines from a *Monody*, which appeared in the Independent Chronicle of January 8, 1784 :

‘ ’Tis done ! from earth th’ illustrious prophet flies,  
Cooper, the all-accomplish’d Cooper, dies !  
That bosom, where benevolence abode ;  
That form, where nature every grace bestow’d ;  
That eye, where soft persuasion sweetly smil’d,  
Illum’d the heart, and every care beguil’d ;

That tongue, which long, in virtue's cause, combin'd  
 Reason and truth, and eloquence refin'd,  
 Finished and fraught with all the sacred lore,—  
 Is cold—is lifeless—and must charm no more!  
 While the pure spirit, which the whole inform'd,  
 Glowed in the bosom, and the features warm'd,  
 Flown upward, free of elemental clay,  
 Explores new mansions in the fields of day.'

'Enlighten'd wisdom crown'd thy youthful head,  
 Fair science nurs'd thee, and the muses bred;  
 And taste, enamour'd, woo'd to vernal bowers,  
 And wreath'd, a favourite, with her choicest flowers;  
 While, pleas'd, religion to thy care consign'd  
 Her noblest aim, the bliss of human kind.  
 Yon hallow'd temple and thy flock forlorn  
 Now vainly seek thee on th' accusom'd morn;  
 The sacred morn, that usher'd holy days  
 All dedicate to pious prayer and praise.  
 When on those lips whole auditories hung,  
 And truths divine came brilliant from thy tongue,  
 Then did devotion beautifully climb,  
 In glowing pathos, and the truth sublime;  
 Extend to future worlds our wond'ring sight,  
 And ravish with ineffable delight.  
 Form'd to excel in each ennobled part  
 That burnish'd life, or humaniz'd the heart,  
 How did thy bright example recommend  
 The parent, partner, citizen and friend!  
 Warm in affection, wise with finished ease,  
 "Intent to reason, or polite to please,"  
 In private paths, in every publick line,  
 The best associate, statesman and divine !'

Dr. Cooper maintained an extensive correspondence in America and Europe. He was an active member of the Society for propagating the Gospel, and was one of the projectors, and the first vice-president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The University of Edinburgh sent him a diploma of doctor of divinity. He was a useful friend to the College. When the library was burned in 1764, he was very active in procuring means to repair the loss, and was a fellow from 1767 till his death. The following extract from the minutes of the overseers, relates to his election to the presidency:

'At a meeting of the overseers, 10 February, 1774, Dr. Eliot presented the following vote of the corporation :

"At a meeting of the corporation, 7 February, 1774, Dr. Winthrop having declined accepting the office of president, the corporation proceeded to bring in their written votes for a president, and it appeared, that the Rev. Dr. Cooper of Boston was chosen."

'The question being put, the said election was approved. Before the meeting was dissolved, a letter was sent from Dr. C. in which he wholly excused himself from engaging in the duties of the station, to which he had been invited.'

He published sermons :

On the artillery election day, 1751 ;

Before the Society for encouraging Industry, 1753 ;

At the general election, 1756 ;

On the reduction of Quebec, 1759 ;

At the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Jackson, 1760 ;

On the death of George II. 1761 ;

At the Dudleian lecture in Harvard College, 1775 ;

On the commencement of the new constitution of Massachusetts, October 25, 1780.

They are all compositions of very uncommon force and finish. The sermon on the commencement of the new constitution, may, perhaps, be reckoned the best, and the Dudleian lecture the most indifferent. In all of them, I remember but one or two expressions, which a minister of the class now called liberal might not have written. These occur in a compendious sketch of the Christian system, in the excellent discourse at the ordination of Mr. Jackson, and they are so general, that I know not whether they should be named as an exception. The peculiarities of orthodoxy are avoided where the subject seems to lead to them, and the only doxology, which I have observed to be used, is that, 1 Tim. i. 17, of which Unitarians are now left in almost unparticipated possession. 'His religious sentiments,' it is said in the obituary notice above quoted, 'were rational and catholic, being drawn from the gospel of Christ. In them he was ever steady, and, though a friend to the rights of conscience, and a free inquiry, he yet wished to avoid, in his common discourses, those nice and needless distinctions, which had too often proved detrimental to Christian love and union.'

Rev. William Cooper was twice married ; to Judith Sewall, and Mary Foye, daughter of the town treasurer. Of his latter marriage, there was a posthumous child ; a daughter, named Mary. She married Dr. Samuel Gardner of Milton, and had four children ; a son, John, who married a

daughter of the late Treasurer Jackson; and three daughters, one of whom is the wife of John Amory, Esq. By his first marriage, William Cooper had three sons; Thomas, who died young; William, and Samuel; and one daughter, Judith. She married Dr. John Seaver, and William Rand of Kingston, and left a daughter, Lucy, and a son, William. Some of her descendants are now living in that place. Rev. William Cooper's son William was town clerk of Boston. He died December, 1809, at the age of eighty-eight. A son of his is living at Machias, Maine. Samuel Cooper married Judith, a sister of the late Dr. Bulfinch. He had two children, Judith and Abigail. The former married Col. Gabriel Johonnot, and died in Boston, leaving one son, Samuel Cooper, who died in Martinique, leaving four children, of whom I learn nothing. The latter, Mrs. Hixon, is now living, a widow, in Concord.

The following, in Dr. Cooper's hand-writing, is on a loose leaf on the files of the Church:

'Oct. 8, 1753. The Church and congregation met, according to adjournment; and the report of the committee, Mr. Dan. Greenleaf moderator, Mr. Lovell, &c. chosen the last meeting to consider if it might be proper to change the version of Psalms we now sing for some other, was read. The report as follows;—but inasmuch as there were but few brethren present, it was voted to defer the consideration of this report to the next meeting, on the first Monday in November; and the brethren present were desired to inform those that were absent of the committee's report; and to confer together upon this stead.

'Nov. 4, Lord's day. I notified the brethren of the Church and congregation of their meeting the next day, according to adjournment; mentioned the affair of the Psalms; and pressed a general attendance upon an affair so important, and that so much concerned every stated worshipper among us.

'Nov. 5. The report of the committee for the Psalms was read, and accepted. It was then motioned, that we did now determine what version to sing; and voted accordingly by a great majority.

'The pastor was then desired to give his opinion. He proposed the version of Tate and Brady, with an addition of Hymns from Dr. Watts and others, to be collected by a committee, which the Church should appoint for that purpose. The brethren, by a written vote, agreed to this. There were present 64 voters. For Tate and Brady's, with an Appendix, 51; for Dr. Watts's Psalms, 5; 8 did not vote.

'The brethren then chose the pastor, with a committee of eight, to prepare the Appendix, viz. Col. Wendell, Mr. D. Greenleaf, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Lovell, Johnson, Bowdoin, Deacon Parker, Wm. Cooper.'

With the exception of five baptisms in 1772, and one without a date, but recorded immediately after those by Dr. Colman, as having been ad-



ministered 'about this time,' all the information, which Dr. Cooper has left on the records of the Church, is comprised in less than twenty lines. It relates to the dedication of the new meeting-house, to the reception of a letter from the church of Bolton, and to Deacon Storer's resignation of his office. When Dr. Thacher succeeded, he made out such a record of marriages and baptisms as he was able from Dr. Cooper's interleaved almanacks. Of some years, however, (as 1751, 1764, and the years from 1778 to his death,) no record of either remains. The recorded administrations of baptism by Dr. Cooper, during his sole ministry, amount to 918.

In 1777, by the will of Lydia Hancock, the Society came into possession of the house and land in Court Street, since occupied by their ministers. The condition of the gift, which has of late been considerably canvassed, is as follows: 'that the minister, or eldest minister of said Church, shall constantly reside and dwell in said house during such time as he is minister of said Church; and in case the same is not improved for this use only, I then declare this bequest to be void and of no force, and order, that said house and land then revert to my estate, and I give the same to my said nephew, John Hancock, Esq. and to his heirs forever.' Mrs. Hancock also gave to the Church £100, the income to be annually appropriated to the relief of the poor. The Society voted to 'receive these pious, charitable, and generous bequests, with great respect and gratitude to the memory of that excellent woman, Madam Lydia Hancock, who was for many years a member of the Church in Brattle Street, an ornament to the Christian profession, and an amiable pattern of piety and virtue.'

A separate record of the proceedings of the standing committee has been kept since Aug. 27, 1763, and of the proceedings of the Society since Feb. 16, 1755. At the latter date, the necessary authority having been just given by law, a committee was chosen for the purpose of assessing a tax upon the pews. The standing committee of that year were 'empowered to use their discretion in making a demand of the taxes on the pews belonging to families gone to decay;' and 'desired to make inquiry after a deed, from Mr. Dassett to this Society, of the privilege of Dassett's Lane, and, when found, (if said deed gives power,) to set up a post with a lock in said lane.'

The committee 'to manage the temporal affairs of the Church and congregation' generally consisted of seven, eight, or nine persons, (most commonly eight,) besides the treasurer. In 1763, they voted to meet regularly five times in each year.

In 1755, Dr. Cooper's allowance was a provision of rent and fuel, with £2. 8s. a week, (lawful money, I suppose,) and 13s. 4d. a week, 'to procure help.' This was raised at different times (in addition to occasional grants) to £5, lawful money, a week, or an equivalent; which equivalent amounted, in 1780, to £360 a week in continental paper.

December 3, 1781, it was 'voted, that the deacons advise with the Rev. Dr. Cooper upon the number of Hymns annexed to Tate and Brady's Psalms, which may be occasionally used by the Society in Brattle Street in publick worship.'

Among the proceedings of the Society, after the death of Dr. Cooper, was the appointment of a committee, of which the late Gov. Sullivan and Judge Lowell were members, to select a volume from his sermons for the press. They were not, however, found in a condition to admit of it. At the funeral, Rev. President Willard, (who made the prayer,) and Rev. Messrs. Howard, Eliot, Eckley, Clark and Wight, of Boston, supported the pall.

(26.) p. 18. THE old church was never painted, within or without. The tower and bell were on the west side, and a door on the south, opposite to the pulpit. The window frames were of iron. Upon the pulpit stood an hour-glass, which is described as having been a foot high, and enclosed in a case, which was either brass or gilt. This was among the articles, which, in the sale of the old house, were 'reserved for the use of the Society;' but I do not find, that it was used after the new house was occupied. The old pulpit, bible and bell, were given to Gov. Hancock, on the condition of replacing them with new ones in the new house. Beneath the pulpit were two seats for deacons, which, it seems, were afterwards thrown into one, as, in the record of such an alteration at the New Brick church, it is said to have been made 'as has been lately done at the Old North, and at Mr. Cooper's.' Before it were rows of free seats. The pews were square, and ornamented with the small railing upon the top, which is still seen in many of our churches. The highest number in a list of pews on the floor is 99. In 1766, it was voted, 'that two new pews shall be made in the meeting-house, on the floor, in the room of the *two back long seats*.' There were two galleries, each of them, probably, fitted with pews, as, in 1723, 'it was recommended to the committee to fill with persons proper the vacant pews in the galleries; that the negroes be directed to leave the back seats of the lower, and go into those of the upper gallery.' Some place seems to have been appropriated to children, as, at the same time, the committee were desired to 'dismiss Roger from looking after the boys, and provide some fitter person.'

(27.) p. 18. THE building of churches was a less simple operation in those times than the present. This was engaged in as a very serious enterprise. 'At a meeting of the standing committee at Mr. Bowdoin's, Feb. 6, 1772, John Hancock, Esq. having put in a letter generously offering to contribute largely towards a new meeting-house,' the committee voted to call a meeting of the Society to consider the subject. At this meeting it was unanimously voted to take measures for the erection of a new house

of worship, and committees were appointed to procure subscriptions, and estimates of the cost. Subscriptions to the amount of £3200 having been received within a week, a building committee of twelve was appointed. The committee were 'of opinion, that the land belonging to the Society would not be sufficient to build a commodious house.' Gov. Bowdoin accordingly offered to give the Society his lot at the corner of Howard Street and Pemberton's Hill; but the matter being referred to them, 'it appeared, that there was a considerable majority for building on the old spot in Brattle Street,' and the offer was respectfully declined. On the last day of meeting in the old house, a contribution was taken, that those who had not subscribed might 'have an opportunity of giving towards the new building, if they see cause.' The old house was taken down, and the ground cleared, between May 14 and 18. Mr. Copely and Major Dawes presented plans for the new building. The former was rejected on account of the expense. The latter was adopted. June 23, the corner stone was laid by Major Thomas Dawes, the architect, 'in the foundation at the south-west corner of the house, having this inscription ;

' June 23d,

1772.

S. COOPER, D. D.

Minister.

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'The day after laying the corner stone, some of the committee, taking into consideration what was proper to be done with a stone taken out of the south-east corner of the foundation of the original building, having the inscription BENJAMIN WALKER thereon, ordered the figures 1699 to be added thereto, being the year that the first meeting-house in Brattle Street was founded, and then the stone was laid in the foundation of the south-east corner of the new house.' 'The name of the Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq. was inscribed on one of the rustick quoins [of Connecticut stone] at the south-west corner of the new building.'

While the house was erecting, the building committee had their office in the south-east chamber of the house in Brattle Square, then occupied by Mrs. Turell, and now by Deacon Simpkins. By the autumn, they had exhausted their funds, and were largely in debt. A subscription for pews was accordingly opened, each subscriber advancing not less than £30. The house cost £8000. The most valuable pews were appraised at £50. When it was occupied, several remained unsold, and there was still a debt of £750 to the mechanicks, which was not paid off till the ministry of Dr. Thacher. Major Dawes did one half of the masons' work; and William Homer, Benjamin Richardson, and David Bell, the other. One half of the carpenters'

work was done by Benjamin Eustis and ——— Crafts; one quarter by Benjamin Sumner, jun. and James Sumner; and the other by John Stutson and Nathaniel Call, on an agreement 'that these two companies should proportionably admit William Flagg, James Robbins, Benjamin Sumner, Joseph Eustis and ——— Appleton to a part of the work at the same rate.' Capt. John Gore and Mr. Daniel Rae were the painters.

There were seventy-five 'free gift' subscribers. The most liberal subscriptions were those of Gov. Hancock and Gov. Bowdoin. The latter gave £200. The former gave £1000, reserving to himself 'the particular disposition of the sum, and the beginning and completing a mahogany pulpit, with its full furniture, a mahogany deacons' seat, and communion table, under his own direction,' and the providing for the accommodation of poor widows and others, belonging to the Society, who are reputable persons, and unable to furnish themselves with seats, &c.' In addition to this, he gave a bell. A temporary pine pulpit was first erected, that which was engaged by him of Mr. Crafts not being finished when the house was occupied.

Some approximation to an estimate of the size of the Society, at this period, may be made from the circumstance, that eighty-one voters are recorded by name to have been present at a meeting in 1773, and it is added, that there were several others.

In part of the years 1775 and 1776, a regiment or two of British troops were quartered in the church, a sugar-house which stood north of it, and other houses in the neighbourhood. Dr. Cooper was not seldom a subject of their notice in passing into the church at service time, while they were paraded in the square. Divine service continued to be performed till 'April 16, 1775, when, by the cruelty and oppression of an infamous administration, the congregation was dispersed, and the house improved as a barrack for the British soldiery, till, by a most remarkable interposition of Divine Providence, the troops were obliged to evacuate the town on the 17th March, 1776.' Gen. Gage had his head quarters in the house opposite the church. He told Mr. Turell, he had no fear of the shot from Cambridge, for his troops, while within such walls. The morning on which the British left the town, Deacon Newell and Mr. Turell went into the church, and quenched the fires, which they had left burning. A shot struck the tower the night before. It was picked up by Mr. Turell, and preserved by his family till the committee for making the late repairs had it fastened in the tower where it had struck.

When the British were about to occupy the church, Deacon Gore and Deacon Newell were permitted to case up the pulpit and columns, and remove the body pews, which were carried to the paint loft of the former. The soldiers defaced the inscription of Gov. Hancock's name, mentioned p. 64, and the stone remains in the condition in which they left it. A

similar inscription, unmutilated, appears on one of the rustick quoins in the south-west corner of the tower. This was probably made after the house was reoccupied, which took place May 19, 1776. A similar inscription, which appears on the north-west corner of the tower, bears the name of Dr. John Greenleaf, who, with Gov. Bowdoin, advanced the money for refitting the church, it 'having been grossly polluted by being improved as a barrack for the British troops.'

The following extracts from a MS. journal kept by Deacon Newell during the siege, I have been kindly permitted to take from a copy among the papers of the late Dr. Belknap :

'14 Sept. 1775. Messrs. Auchinclosh, Morrison, and another person, came to me, as three Scotchmen had been before. They shewed me a paper, directed to me, setting forth, that the Rev. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was permitted, by his excellency Gen. Gage, to preach, and desired he may have the use of Dr. Cooper's meeting-house: Signed by about thirty Scotchmen and others, viz. \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, &c. I desired they would leave the paper for my consideration. They did not choose I should keep it, and began to urge their having the house. For answer, I told them, I looked upon it a high insult upon that Society, their proposing it, and turned my back upon them, and so left them.

'P. M. Messrs. Black, Dixon and Hunter came and told me his excellency the general had consented they should have our meeting-house, and desired I would deliver them the key. I told them, when I see such an order, I should know how to proceed. One said to me, So, you refuse to deliver the key? I answered, with an emotion of resentment, Yes, I do.

'15. As I was attending a funeral, the provost, Mr. Cunningham, came to me, and told me, it was his excellency the general's command, I should immediately deliver him the key of Dr. Cooper's meeting-house. I replied, I must see the governour. He told me, he would not see me till I had delivered the key. I told him, I must see the general, and refused to deliver the key. He left me in a great rage, and swore he would immediately go and break open the doors. I left the funeral, and proceeded to the governour's, calling on Capt. Erving to go with me. He excused himself, and so I went alone. The governour received me civilly. I addressed myself to him, and most earnestly entreated him, that he would be pleased to withdraw his order, urging, that Dr. Eliot, in order to accommodate our people, was to preach in said meeting-house the next Sabbath, or the Sabbath after, and that the person they proposed was a man of an infamous character, which, had it been otherwise, I should not oppose it, &c. and I desired his excellency would consider of it. He told me he would, and that I might keep the key, and if he sent for it, he expected I would deliver it. So left him. I had not been, I believe, twenty minutes from him,

before the provost came with a written order to deliver the key immediately, which I did accordingly.

‘ When I at first urged the governour to excuse my delivering the key, for the reasons given, he replied, that a number of creditable people had applied to him, and he saw no reason why that house should not be made use of, as any other. Gen. Robinson (when I mentioned the preacher being of an infamous character) said he knew no harm of the man ; but this he knew, that he had left a very bad service, and taken up with a good one.

‘ The next day the provost came to my shop. I not being there, he left word, that he came for the apparatus of the pulpit, and that he must have the key under the pulpit, supposing the curtain and cushions were there. The provost, the same day, came again. I chose not to be there. He left orders to send him the aforesaid, and swore most bitterly, that if I did not send them, he would split the door open ; and accordingly I hear the same was forced open ; and that if Dr. Cooper and Dr. Warren were there, he would break their heads ; and that he would drag me in the gutter, &c. &c. &c. This being Saturday afternoon, I chose not to be seen. Spent the evening at Major Phillips’s ; consulted with a few friends ; advised still to be as much out of the way as possible. Dr. Eliot invited me to come very early in the morning (being Lord’s day) and breakfast with him, and also dine ; which I did, and returned home after nine at night ; found a sergeant with a letter had been twice at our house for me. Thus ends a Sabbath, which, exclusive of the perplexities and insults before mentioned, has been a good day to me.

‘ P. S. Capt. Erving and myself being the only persons of the committee remaining in town, I acquainted him of the demand of the general, who advised me, that, if the general insisted on the delivery of the key, to deliver the same. The next week several of our parish thought proper to petition the general. I advised with Foster Hutchinson, Esq. who thought it very proper, and accordingly, at my desire, he drew a petition ; but, upon further consideration, and hearing of the opinion of the general, he thought it best not to present it.

‘ Oct. 13. Col. Birch, of the light horse dragoons, went to view our meeting-house, which was destined for a riding school for the dragoons. It was designed to clear the floor, to put two feet of tan covered with horse dung to make it elastick. But when it was considered, that the pillars must be taken away, which would bring down the roof, they altered their mind ; so that the pillars saved us.

‘ 27. The spacious *Old South meeting-house* taken possession of’ by the 17th regiment of dragoons for this purpose. ‘ The pulpit, pews and seats all cut to pieces, and carried off in the most savage manner as can be expressed, and destined for a riding school. The beautiful carved pew,

with the silk furniture of Deacon Hubbard's, was taken down and carried to ———'s house by an officer, and made a hog-stye. The above was effected by the solicitation of Gen. Burgoyne.

' Nov. 16. The keys of our meeting-house cellars demanded of me by Major Sheriff, by order of Gen. Howe.

' 1776. Jan. 16. The Old North meeting-house pulled down, by order of Gen. Howe, for fuel for the refugees and tories.'

Nov. 1780, the Society 'voted, that the deacons get the house repaired, the bell fixed, and frame painted.' Nov. 1781, the committee 'directed, that screens be put up to secure the belfry against the weather.' Stoves were introduced in the winter of 1782—3.

(28.) p. 19. As this transaction is recent, and many of those, whose judgments differed upon it, survive, I do not give a detailed account of it. Some coarse, though not altogether insipid wit, called forth by it, on both sides, and in prose and verse, may be found in the Centinel of December 11, 1784, and January 12 and 15, 1785.

(29.) p. 19. THE council consisted of the First, Second, West, New North, New South, Old South, Hollis Street, and Dr. Mather's churches in Boston; the First Church in Roxbury; the churches in Cambridge and Medford, and the Third Church in Dedham. The services of installation took place in the afternoon. Rev. Dr. Osgood preached the Sermon, from Eph. iii. 8. The Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Lathrop, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Dr. Clark. Rev. Mr. Thacher of Dedham made the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Mr. Hilliard of Cambridge the Prayer of Installation; and Rev. Dr. Eliot the Concluding Prayer.

(30.) p. 20. DR. THACHER's parents lived in Boston; but, at the time of his birth, they were in Milton, the small pox then raging in the former place. He was born March 21, 1752. At the age of thirteen, he lost his father, who was a man of great and increasing eminence. He was graduated in 1769, kept a school afterwards some months in Chelsea, preached his first sermon in Malden, January 28, 1770, and was ordained there, September 19, 1770, when Rev. Mr. Robbins of Milton delivered the Sermon; Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the Charge; and Dr. Eliot of Boston the Right Hand of Fellowship. During his residence in that town, he took a deep interest and an active part in the measures, which brought and carried on the revolution; and was a member of the convention, which sat in Cambridge and Boston, to form the state constitution. He was opposed in that body to the continuance of the office of governor, and, when this question was decided against

him, still objected to connecting with it the title of *Excellency*. Some of his political, however, as well as his religious views, he afterwards saw reason to change. He closed the sitting of that convention with prayer. He was dismissed, at his own request, from his pastoral relation to the church in Malden, December 8, 1784.

Dr. Thacher had his degree in divinity from Edinburgh in 1791. He was secretary of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America; a trustee of the Humane Society; a counsellor of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society; and a member of the Historical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In the seventeen years, that he was settled in town, he was fifteen years chaplain to one or both branches of the general court.

He sailed from Boston November 15, and arrived at Savannah December 3, 1802. His funeral obsequies, like those of his predecessor, were solemnized at the lecture preceding the first communion of the year. His remains were not present, as is erroneously intimated, p. 28. They arrived, and were deposited in the family tomb the Sunday night following. At the funeral service, Rev. Mr. Howard and Rev. Dr. Lathrop prayed, and Rev. Mr. Emerson preached, from John v. 35. 'The ministers, who attended in the place of pall holders were Drs. Howard, Lathrop, Eliot, Morse, Eckley, and the Rev. Mr. Porter.' The following are extracts from the sermon, which was published :

'He was illustrious for his natural powers. His soul was lodged in a person possessing the advantages of a noble stature, a commanding mein, a full and steady eye, a countenance pleasing and expressive, a mouth formed for ready utterance, and a voice of wonderful sweetness, variety, and strength. With these qualities of body, so eminently useful to a public speaker, the Father of Lights had united a sound understanding, a fancy of uncommon sprightliness, a tenacious memory, and a correct judgment.

'He was illustrious for his early proficience in learning, in piety, and in the studies and duties of the sacerdotal office. The dawn of his days afforded promise of a brilliant life. Love of knowledge, and of the distinction which it brings, discovered itself among the first passions of his breast, and was conspicuous in every stage of his education. It accelerated his progress through the school, and enabled him, at an earlier age than usual, to receive academical honours. He was even more remarkable for his pious disposition. Faith in God and in Christ was planted in his heart in the morning of life, and increased in strength with the number of his years.'

'He was illustrious as a preacher. The light of his own understanding he communicated to that of his hearers, and enkindled their affections from the warmth of his. In doctrine he was lucid, and in exhortation, fervent. He was considered a disciple of the Calvinistick school;



but he religiously avoided the metaphysical subtleties, with which some adherents to Calvin bewilder themselves and their hearers. On this hand, he neither darkened counsel by words without knowledge, nor, on that, confounded the morality of the Stoicks with the religion of Christ. He aimed to impress the heart with plain, evangelical truths; to touch and alarm the conscience of hardened offenders; to carry conviction and shame to the bosom of the infidel, not so much by a cold concatenation of argument, as by the coruscations of a mind highly charged with the truths of revelation; to strengthen the convert in his conflicts with temptation; to establish the wavering, and edify and adorn the sincere Christian.' 'If there have been preachers, whose discourses were more connected and elaborate than his, there are few, who possess his vivacity of thought, his justness of sentiment, his emphatical and graceful delivery. He remembered, that every assembly contains a portion of the poor, who are always to be with us, and always to be taught the gospel; that it is better to instruct the ignorant, than merely to amuse the learned; to persuade the wise, than delight the witty; and to excite the repentance and faith, the zeal and love of sober Christians, than the empty applause of the gay and ingenious. With all this reverence, however, for the simple and the grave, where is the logician, who has not occasionally been informed by the reasoning, where the critick, who has not been moved by the good sense, where the sparkling genius, who has not been ravished with the oratory, of Dr. Thacher? His pulpit talents have been the boast of our age. In that venerable form, in those accents, in that manner, there was a charm, which infallibly seized the attention of his auditory, fanned the flame of its curiosity, and left upon its mind a savour of religion.

'He was illustrious for his gift in extempore prayer.' 'Whenever he engaged in this exercise, his memory supplied a copious and select variety of sentiment from the Scriptures, whilst the most perfect confidence commanded the whole energies of his intellect. It seemed as if the melody of his tones awoke his own devotion, and imparted life to all, who joined him in the sacred duty. No concourse was so numerous, no case so intricate, no occasion so sudden, as to produce apparent confusion in his thoughts, or the smallest hesitation in utterance. This privilege was not the fruit of method, nor, perceptibly, of previous study; though, in fact, he often and closely premeditated. It sprang from a faculty of waving and resuming at pleasure the subject of petition, and of waiting, if I may so speak, for the moment of inspiration to amplify and entreat.

'He was illustrious by his example. The pious propensities of his youth were visible in his character through the succeeding scenes and actions of his life. From whatever was profane, whatever was immoral, whatever trifled with the essentials or rituals of religion, his feelings revolted with horror; and he seldom failed to manifest indignation against

tokens of impiety. In his intercourse with mankind, he was distinguished for strict adherence to truth and equity. Few men had more confidential friends, and none was a more faithful depository. He was curious to discern the signs of the times, and learn the events of the day; but it was with a view of augmenting his worth as a minister, a citizen, and a man. Like his Master, he went about doing good; and consumed his life in things pertaining to the kingdom of God, in promoting the health of the state, or the comfort of individuals. In sum: His activity, punctuality, and faithfulness, in discharging his pastoral duties; his reverence of the Lord's day and the Lord's house, and his forwardness to embrace opportunities for uniting in social worship; his kind attentions to the afflicted; his labours in the cause of humane institutions; his concern and endeavours for the propagation of our holy religion; the interest he took in the increasing usefulness and reputation of our university; his aids in furthering the progress of the arts and sciences in general; and his wishes, his writings, and his prayers, in behalf of the independence, liberties, peace, and glory of our beloved America, are some of the many proofs of the worth and brilliance of his example.

'He was, finally, illustrious by his success.' 'In the course of his ministry, and especially since his residence in the metropolis, his labours have been greatly blessed. This is evidenced by the number of communicants in this Church; by his very acceptable visits in the chambers of the sick and dying; and by his praise, which is in the gospel throughout all our churches. Many, who hear me, can testify the beneficial effects of his preaching; and, we hope, many, who, like him, have fallen asleep, will be his joy and crown of rejoicing in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming. But his useful services were not confined to the church. Nothing patriotick, nothing human, was foreign from his feelings. He successfully pleaded the cause of the poor in the ear of the rich, as well as before the throne of Almighty compassion. He interested himself in schemes of private beneficence and publick utility, which his acquaintance with the wise and powerful enabled him essentially to serve. In the state, he was the uniform and influential assertor of rational liberty. Equally the foe of licentiousness and oppression, he employed his talents, as opportunity presented, and not without effect, in defeating the machinations of wicked, and supporting the measures of upright and consistent rulers: and whilst patriotism lives in our breasts, we shall deplore the early extinction of this splendid luminary.'

He published,

An oration against standing armies, delivered at Watertown, March 5, 1776;

A sermon on the death of Andrew Eliot, 1778;

Three sermons in proof of the eternity of future punishments, 1782 ;  
 Observations on the state of the clergy in New England, with strictures upon the power of dismissing them, usurped by some churches, 1783 ;

A reply to strictures upon the preceding ;

A sermon on the death of Joshua Paine ;

At the ordination of Elijah Kellogg, 1788 ;

At the ordination of William F. Rowland, 1790 ;

On the death of Gov. Bowdoin, 1791 ;

At the artillery election ;

On the death of Gov. Hancock, 1793 ;

On the death of Samuel Stillman, jun. ;

At the ordination of his son, Thomas Cushing Thacher, 1794 ;

Before the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, 1795 ;

On the death of Thomas Russell ;

On the death of Nathaniel Gorham, 1796 ;

Before a society of freemasons, 1797 ;

At the interment of Dr. Clark ;

On the death of Rebecca Gill, 1798 ;

On the death of Gov. Sumner ;

To the Society in Brattle Street, on the completion of a century from its establishment, 1799 ;

A discourse on the death of Washington, 1800.

These writings are all in a clear, lively style, exceedingly well corresponding to what is said of his animated manner of delivery. The *Observations on the State of the Clergy*, &c. and the *Reply to Strictures*, &c. are strongly marked with his frank and decided character.

He married, October 8, 1770, Mrs. Elizabeth Pool, and had ten children, four of whom, Rev. Thomas Cushing, late minister of Lynn ; Hon. Peter Oxenbridge, judge of the Municipal Court of Boston ; Charles, and Mary Harvey, survive.

In the interval between Dr. Cooper's ministry and Dr. Thacher's, there is a record of 37 administrations of baptism. During the latter, 153 persons, viz. 28 men and 125 women, were received to full communion. Of these, about 20 are still in connexion with this Church. In the same period, 683 persons were baptized. Two communicants (one of them the late Rev. Mr. Bradford of Roxbury) were dismissed, and recommended by votes of the Church ; a fact, which had escaped my observation, when the note on p. 54 was written.

August 2, 1792, 'some proposals were made by the members of the Church to vary its proceedings as to the mode of admission to ordinances ;

and the Church voted, that, on this day four weeks, they will take these proposals into consideration.

'October 7. The Church met, according to adjournment, and considered and debated upon the propositions laid before them at the last meeting, and voted, that no more explicit confession of sin shall be required of any person, as a term of admission to either of the ordinances, than is expressed in the covenant used in this Church on admission thereto.

'2. Voted, that the admission of members to full communion be in future confined to the Church, without their being propounded to the congregation.

'The meeting was then adjourned to this day four weeks.

'November 4. The Church met, according to adjournment, and took into consideration the following proposition, viz.

'That the Church consider those, who have renewed their baptismal covenant, and have made a publick profession of religion, as members of it, subject to their watch and discipline, and that they be admitted to full communion at any time when they desire, without a new profession of their faith, if, on their standing propounded to the Church for one month, no objections shall be offered thereto. And the Church voted, that the further consideration of this proposal subside.'

The First Church worshipped with the Church in Brattle Square, while their meeting-house was undergoing repairs, from Sept. 5, 1784, till March, 1785.

The standing committee, during Dr. Thacher's ministry, consisted of ten, eleven, or twelve persons. They kept no records from April, 1793, to November, 1802.

18 pews, out of 134, appear, from the treasurer's books, to have remained unsold after Dr. Thacher's settlement.

August 13, 1786. 'The Society were notified, that, in future, any of the Hymns, which are annexed to the version of Psalms by Tate and Brady, to the number of 103, would be occasionally sung, at the discretion of the minister, agreeably to their vote of 3 December, 1781.' The Massachusetts convention for deliberating on the adoption of the federal constitution, met in this church the second day of its session, but they found it difficult to hear the debates, and adjourned to the church in Federal Street.

December 19, 1790, it was voted unanimously, 'that an organ be introduced into this Society as an assistant to the vocal musick of psalmody, which is esteemed to be an important part of social worship.' The organ was put up the second following year, and was first used June 17. There were great objections made, for years after, to its being played without an accompaniment of psalmody, and to its being played after service, before the congregation had time to retire. It cost about

£500; and an expense of £128 more was incurred in importing and erecting it. To make room for it, the upper front gallery, which formerly projected as far as the lower, was reduced several feet. Two columns, uniform with the rest, were removed, and replaced by others of a smaller size, to support the organ loft. At the same time, the pedestals of all the columns were abridged. The capitals, which, if I am rightly informed, were imported, were not added till nearly that time. A former proposition to this effect, had not met with equal favour:

July 13, 1773, 'it having been suggested, that the pedestals of those pillars that incommode pews, might be liable to alteration by the proprietors of such pews, unless the Society pass some vote to prevent it, and whereas such pews have been set at a less rate, on account of said inconvenience, *voted*, that no alteration be made in those pillars or pedestals, nor in any other of the pillars and pedestals of the meeting-house, on any pretence whatever.'

May 18, 1795. The committee were 'requested to have a passage staked out large enough for carriages, and also for foot passengers, round the meeting-house.'

In 1796, the pews belonging to the Society had not all been sold, and, four years later, they were still in debt. In 1799, the legacy of Deacon Newell to the poor of the Church was borrowed.

In 1791, a request was made by 'the executors of the last will and testament of William Erving, Esq., that they might be permitted to place a monument in memory of the said testator and his father, the late Hon. John Erving, Esq. deceased, in some convenient place in the meeting-house in Brattle Street, agreeably to the will of the said William Erving, Esq.' The proposition was declined.

In 1795, the Society bought of Jonathan Merry and Stephen Fales the estate bounding their land on the north and east sides. They sold the greater part of it the next year, reserving a portion of the land next their own limits. The stoves lately removed were erected in 1799.

In 1799, it was voted, that the exercises begin with singing. In 1802, occurs the first vote, which I have observed for compensation to the choir. The standing committee were then 'directed to encourage the singers, by giving them a sum of money not exceeding one hundred dollars.'

(31.) p. 27. THE former statements in these notes have been the more particular, as few of those for whom they are prepared, had a personal acquaintance with the events to which they relate. It would be useless to make many respecting the life or character of Mr. Buckminster. He was the son of Rev. Dr. Joseph Buckminster of Portsmouth, N. H.; was born May 26, 1784; received his first degree at Cambridge in 1800; and in Oct.

1804, began to preach in the church in Brattle Square. December 9th, he was chosen its pastor, and was ordained January 30, 1805. The ordaining council consisted of the First, Second, Old South, New South, West, New North, Federal Street and Hollis Street churches in Boston; the North and South churches in Portsmouth; the First, Second and Third churches in Roxbury; the First Church in Dorchester; and the churches in Waltham, Charlestown, Brookline and Chelsea. The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Buckminster of Portsmouth, from Titus, ii. 15. The Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Cushing of Waltham, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Emerson of Boston. Rev. Mr. Porter of Roxbury made the Introductory, Rev. Dr. Lathrop of Boston the Ordaining, and Rev. Dr. Morse of Charlestown the Concluding Prayer. From May, 1806, to September, 1807, Mr. Buckminster was absent on a tour in Europe, which his infirm health had made necessary. He died, after a week's illness, June 9, 1812. At the funeral, Rev. Dr. Lathrop and Rev. Mr. Lowell prayed; and Rev. President Kirkland preached, from Job, xiv. 19. I have been kindly permitted to make the following extracts from different parts of the sermon :

‘ Many, who hear me, observed the earliest years of Mr. Buckminster, and most have been informed of the extraordinary features and decided indications of his character in childhood and youth. God gave him a spirit finely touched, which opened early, and shot forth with a rapid expansion, when most are only acquiring the rudiments of instruction. Providence favoured his improvement, by the skilful and zealous culture of the parental hand, which was encouraged and rewarded by the ingenuous disposition and docility of the pupil. His moral qualities seemed to unfold themselves with his intellectual powers. The wavering propensities and undecided feelings, the refractory and untractable dispositions, which generally create anxiety, and exact incessant care and discipline in parents and instructors, seem never to have appeared in any thing offensive in this singular person. There was a cognation and sympathy between his mind and the objects of religion, and a deep tincture of piety in that train of thought, which was discovered in the child. The progress of moral apprehension corresponded to that of the mental powers, and his tenderness of conscience was as remarkable as the energies of his mind. His absolute exemption from all tendency to deceive, and his immediate and ingenuous confession of error, when committed, are established facts in his early history. He listened to the tender demand of his heavenly Father, “ My son, give me thy heart,” and learning, even in childhood, to relish the pleasures of devotion, he was able to have them in lively and pleasing exercise in his subsequent years.

‘ The promises of his first years were in all respects fulfilled in the following stages of his education. He welcomed, with respectful attention,

the advice of his teachers, and kept sound wisdom and discretion. He gave his time to exertion, and left the university with an unspotted fame, and her highest literary honours, at an age, when most are entering upon collegiate duties. After a time passed in the office of instructor, he gave his exclusive attention to the studies of the profession, to which he had always directed his views, and was persuaded, after much doubt and fear, to accept your invitation to be a candidate for this desk. With united voice you proposed his settlement, and, before he had completed his minority, he was solemnly inducted to the charge of this Church. With what ability, faithfulness and zeal he began and continued his sacred office, you especially, and all the inhabitants of this metropolis, have had opportunity to witness. His ingenious and intelligible explanations of the sacred oracles, his clear and conclusive reasoning upon theological and ethical truths, his original and discursive, pathetick and captivating eloquence, have placed him in the highest rank of pulpit orators. How simple, solemn and affecting were his devotions! How edifying and tender his ministration of the ordinances!—In all his intercourse, you, his people, feel too well, to need it to be impressed, how truly he manifested himself the friend and counsellor of his flock, and with what effect he rendered the private duties of the pastoral office; how much he exerted himself for the improvement and welfare of your children, and entered into your parental solicitude.

‘Great has been the success of the application of such talents and zeal to the purposes of the ministerial office. Much access did he gain to the understanding and hearts of his hearers. Here ignorance has been removed, and there error corrected. By his influence, the insensible have been affected, the frigid warmed, the prejudiced and prepossessed conciliated. Has not often the truth, presented by him in all its weight and lustre, had power to banish the illusions, and to detect and confound the artifices, of hypocrisy? The sceptick has been convinced, and the scorner shamed; the man of the world turned away from his idols, and the votary of pleasure, and the libertine, raised from the mire of sensuality, in which they were sunk, and washed from their defilement. It was his, by discourses containing all the spirit of the gospel, without the technicks of human system, to do something to soften the unfeeling temper of bigotry. He might be said to have almost found a medicine for the distempered enthusiast, and to have succeeded in bringing the victim of enthusiasm into the benign light of true religion. You are sensible with what effect he often uttered the healing voice of the gospel to the broken-hearted and penitent, assisted the doubtful to find a right way, and nerved the feeble with strength. He has taught the afflicted how to kiss the rod, and to turn it into comfort, by submission and patience; and has often been able to quicken the flame, which waxed dim in the lamp of the languid and declining believer. We

trust, that he was enabled thus to communicate the views and affections of religion, by having received the impression of them deeply on his own heart. His faith was not a mere acquiescence in certain propositions, but a conviction made persuasion, operating on all his active powers. Principle became affection, and duty delight; and he was good from love of rectitude, and faithful from the pleasure he took in carrying the messages of his Master.'

'Having resumed his duties, he appeared with augmented lustre in the pulpit, and with a fund of materials to enrich and enliven his conversation, and satisfy the literary and religious inquisitiveness of his friends. His relations to society have since been growing more and more extended and important. He was formed to render every filial office to his literary parent, and she was eager to avail herself of his generous attachment, and to testify her regard to a son, who reflected so much honour on the place of his education.'

'I have sketched a few circumstances and facts relating to the early life and public relations of our friend and your pastor. They, to whom he was allied by nature and affection, need not that I should speak of his private virtues, of the unvarying dutifulness and devotion of the child, of the fond solicitude and delicate kindness of the brother, of the warmth and constancy of the friend; nor of the personal qualities and virtues, which could not fail to strike our attention,—patience, that made him refrain from complaint,—and generosity, that did not ask for participation in his peculiar trials;—courage and elevation, that would not suffer him to take any measure, or to behave to any man under the influence of fear,—and simplicity of intention and purpose, that rejected all artifice in speech and conduct. Nor shall I pretend to enumerate all that gave a grace and effect to his talents and virtues, his literary taste, his advantage of countenance lighted up with intelligence, and bright with the vivacity of genius, and the smiles of kind affection. But God has changed his countenance, and sent him away. The life, for which we were often anxious, which sometimes seemed to be brought down to the sides of the pit and the gates of the grave, but which we saw no cause for apprehending in peculiar danger, after a short conflict with disease, is sunk under the arm of the destroyer. Inexorable death, heedless of our prayers, has fixed his grasp upon the helpless victim, and he has descended to darkness and dust.'

Mr. Buckminster was a member of the American Academy, and of the Historical Society. In 1811, he was chosen the first lecturer on Biblical criticism at Cambridge, on the foundation of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter. He published, with his name, in 1809, a sermon on the death of Gov. Sullivan, and an address before the Society of *Φ. Β. Κ.*; and in 1811, a sermon on the death of Rev. Mr. Emerson. The invaluable



volume of sermons, published since his death, and prefaced with a memoir, by the late Rev. Mr. Thacher, was selected from his MSS. by Chief Justice Parker, the late Hon. Mr. Dexter, Rev. Dr. Channing, and the author of the memoir.

In 1803, Mr. Channing (since Dr. Channing, of Federal Street) was invited to preach upon probation, with a view to a settlement; but declined on account of his feeble health, and the size of the house and parish.

In the period intervening between the ministries of Dr. Thacher and Mr. Buckminster, 31 persons were baptized, and 6, viz. 3 men and 3 women, became communicants. During the latter ministry, 259 were baptized, (one of them eighty-three years old,) and 88, viz. 18 men and 70 women, became communicants. In 1808, it is recorded, that 'the Church stopped to vote Mr. Codman (now Rev. Dr. Codman, preparatory to his settlement in Dorchester) 'the customary 'certificate of regular standing, and recommendation to be given by the pastor.' In 1811, the primitive practice was resumed. Mr. Buckminster records, 'in giving Mr. Thacher his recommendation to the fellowship of the church, with which he was to be connected, I did not think it necessary to call the Church together, as this is directly contrary to the practice vindicated by the founders of our Church, and is entirely unnecessary.'

In 1804, the practice of carrying round boxes in church, to collect the taxes, was discontinued; and it was voted, as the sense of the committee, 'that in the settlement of a minister, all who statedly attend publick worship, and contribute to the support of a minister, in the parish of Brattle Street, have a right to vote.'

'Aug 4, 1805, in consequence of a communication from the committee of the Old South Society in this town, voted, that our brethren of that society be invited to unite with us in this place, in attendance on divine worship, during the interruption, which may be occasioned by the repairing of the building in which they usually assemble, and that the officers of our Church be desired to present to them this invitation.'

April 27, 1806, 'it was established as a rule, that it was sufficient for admission, that the wish of him, who is about to join, should stand propounded *from one meeting of the Church to another.*'

November 22, 1807, the often agitated question, relating to the Hymn Book, was resumed. The standing committee were requested to take the subject into consideration, and report their opinion, whether it was expedient to change the book used by the Society, or to make any alteration or addition thereto. The committee reported, and the Society determined, that it was expedient to make an addition to the collection now in use. Mr. Buckminster, Dr. Spooner, and Mr. Thacher, were appointed a committee to make the additional collection, which now forms our Second Part.

In the summer of 1807, pews were built in the space before occupied by free seats in the south gallery, and a porch, containing a stair-case, was erected on that side of the house.

In 1808 and 1809, the legislature of the commonwealth attended divine service in this church on the day of the general election, of the anniversary of national independence, and of the funeral of Gov. Sullivan.

In 1809, a new bell, weighing 3469 pounds, was purchased in London for the Society's use. The expense (\$2090) was chiefly defrayed by a subscription.

In 1811, the late Hon. Mr. Bowdoin gave to the Society the clock, which is placed against the west gallery.

(32.) p. 23. THE council for the ordination of Mr. Everett was composed of the First, Second, Old South, New North, New South, West, Hollis and Federal Street churches in Boston; the First churches in Cambridge, Dorchester and Roxbury; and the church in Medford; with the President of the University, and the Professor of Divinity. The Rev. President preached, from 1 Thess. ii. 4. The Charge was given by Dr. Porter of Roxbury, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Thacher. Rev. Dr. Lathrop made the Introductory, Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford the Ordaining, and Rev. Dr. Harris of Dorchester the Concluding Prayer.

During his ministry, Mr. Everett published with his name, a sermon at the funeral of Rev. Mr. Abbot of the First Church, and that learned and valuable work, the *Defence of Christianity*.

In the period intervening between the ministry of Mr. Buckminster and Mr. Everett, 30 persons were baptized, and 8, viz. 4 men and 4 women, became communicants. During the latter ministry, 36 were baptized, and 13, viz. 4 men and 9 women, became communicants.

(33.) p. 23. THE council for the ordination of the present pastor was composed of the First, Second, Old South, New North, New South, West, Hollis, and Federal Street churches in Boston; the First, Second and University churches in Cambridge; First, Second, and Third churches in Roxbury; First and Third churches in Dorchester; the Second Church in Charlestown, and the Third Church in Hingham, and the churches in Medford, Lancaster, Brookline, and Chelsea. Rev. Dr. Porter of Roxbury preached, from Matthew vii. 28, 29. The Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Frothingham. The Rev. Dr. Thayer of Lancaster made the Introductory, the Rev. President of the University the Ordaining, and Rev. Mr. Colman of Hingham the Concluding Prayer.

In the period intervening between the last and the present ministry, 38 persons were baptized, and 2 became communicants. When this

sermon was preached, 142 persons had been baptized by the present pastor, and 64, viz. 14 men and 50 women, received to the communion.

In July, 1815, it was agreed with the First Church, to hold the monthly lecture alternately in Chauncy Place and Brattle Square. In 1818, the old practice of meeting in the latter place was resumed.

The first act of incorporation, which the Society possessed, was signed February 13, 1822. The qualifications of voters are therein specially defined.

In the spring of 1824, the south porch was removed by order of the city government, who subsequently, in accordance with a decision of referees, paid to the Society \$3750. It became necessary to provide another entrance to the gallery, in place of that which was discontinued, and a thorough repair of the church was consequently made. The front porch was extended on each side by wings twenty feet in length, making the vestibule to the church more ample, and furnishing an entrance directly to the side aisles on the first floor, and stairs to the galleries. They contain two vestries and cellars for the air stoves, by which the church is warmed. The pews in the galleries were also differently arranged, and the whole newly painted, within and without. The wall on the north side of the church, which had been built a year or two before, was raised, an iron railing erected in the south-west corner, and the staircase of the pulpit carried back to enlarge it.

(34.) p. 24. I wrote this under a strong impression, derived from the anonymous pamphlet, mentioned in note 20. The question there incidentally raised about the place where Whitefield preached his first sermon is answered in his journal, with which I was not acquainted when the note was written. He preached first for Dr. Colman at a lecture.

(25.) p. 24. DURING one period of twenty-seven years, there were no less than 666 members added to the Church, making an average of 25 in a year.

(36.) p. 25. THE contributions for the poor, as early as 1730, were not seldom £100, and £150, a large sum for those days. That part of the contribution to the sufferers by the great fire in 1760, which was furnished by this Church, was £3407. I had made some other memoranda to justify the remark in the text; but they are mislaid.

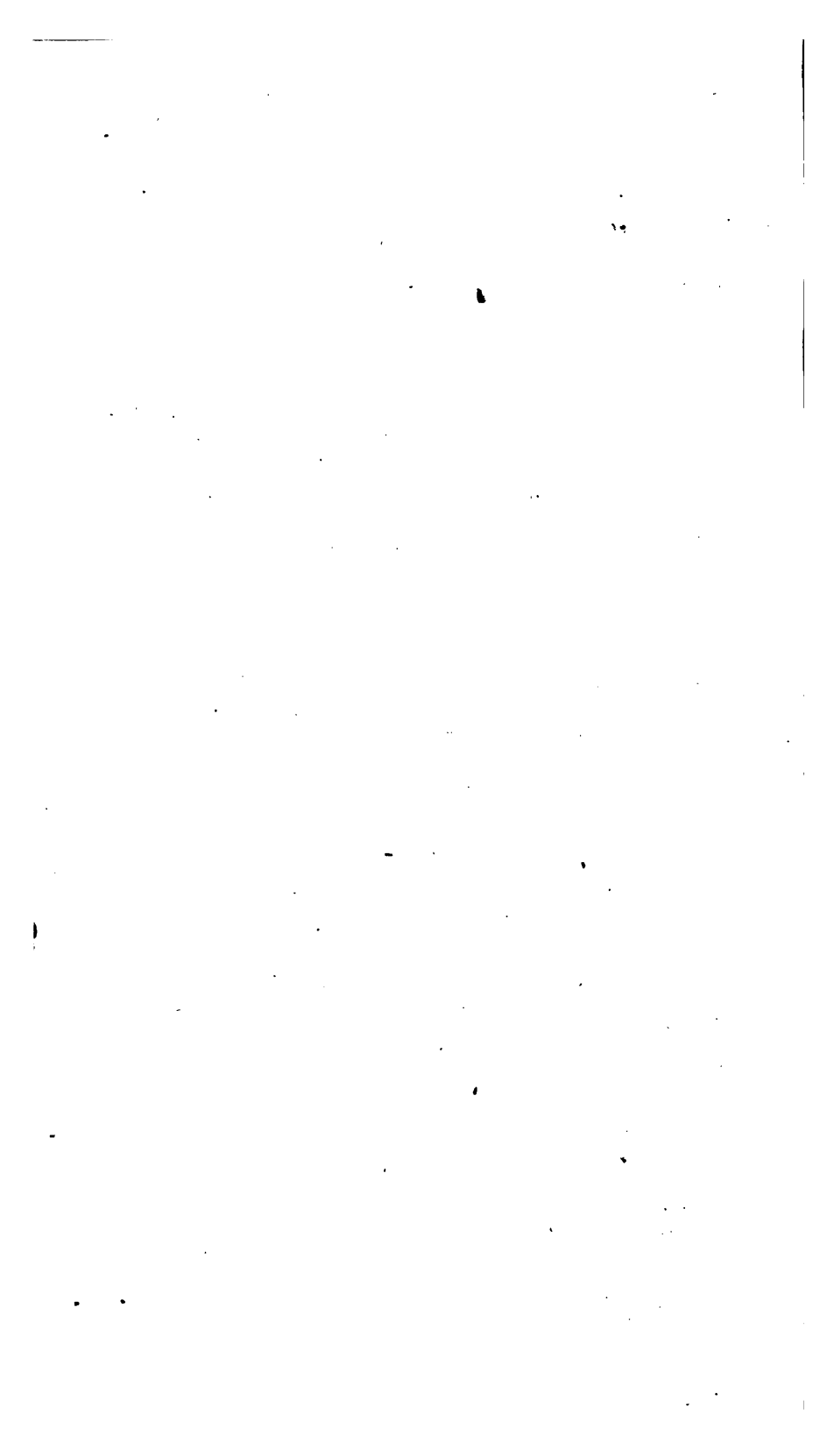
(37.) p. 27. Jan. 25, 1823, Mr. William Homer, a venerable member of this Church, died, at the age of ninety-six. He remembered Dr. Colman's person and preaching distinctly. Two of the present members of the Church, Mrs. Bass and Mrs. Copeland, were baptized by Dr. Colman.

(38.) p. 28. **MRS. ELIZABETH W. SPOONER**, the excellent consort of Hon. William Spooner, died July 11, 1824.

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The following is the most complete list I have been able to make of the deacons of this Church :

Thomas Brattle, chosen in 1699.	Ebenezer Storer, chosen in
Benjamin Davis.....1699.	John Gore.....1788.
Richard Draper.....1699.	Samuel Barrett.....1788.
John Kilby.....1701.	James Lanman.....1788.
Benjamin Gibson.....1717.	Nathaniel Hall.....1793.
Jacob Parker.....1722.	Moses Grant.....1793.
John Phillips.....1729.	Peter O. Thacher.....1804.
Daniel Bell.....	William Andrews.....1808.
Timothy Newell.....	Alden Bradford.....1814.
Isaac Smith.....	Moses Grant.....1818.



3

**The Prospects and Claims of Pure Christianity;**

**A**

# **SERMON**

**PREACHED AT THE**

## **DEDICATION**

**OF THE**

**TWELFTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,**

**IN BOSTON,**

**OCTOBER 13, 1824.**

*Oct 27*  

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**BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.**  
*Pastor of the Church in Brattle Square.*  

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**PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.**

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**BOSTON,**  
**W. W. CLAPP, PRINTER—CONGRESS-ST.**  
**1825.**



# SERMON.

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MATTHEW XVI. 3.

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CAN YE NOT DISCERN THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES ?

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WE are assembled to dedicate a new house of Christian worship to the service of Almighty God. Such a structure was observed to be required by the rapid growth of this flourishing part of our city, and measures were accordingly taken for its erection, by disinterested individuals, under a genuine impulse, as we trust, of zeal for the divine glory, and the good of men. Nor has this motive been alloyed by any spirit of schism. On the contrary, the original projectors of the enterprise, as well as a large proportion of those who have since embarked in it, remain attached to the same religious institutions as before. So far from interrupting, they design to extend our Christian union. They hope that they are introducing another member into our harmonious fraternity. Attached themselves to that system of scriptural belief which prevails in the old Congregational Churches of this place,—the system whose prominent features are well known to be the *personal unity and parental character of God*, and the *intelligible import and moral design of Christianity*,—they hope that they



are providing for it here another sanctuary. They hope that, as long as these walls shall stand, more and more of its truth and beauty may be here made manifest; and that the happy experience of many may evince it, what in their consciences and before the searcher of hearts they believe it to be,—*the power of God unto salvation.*

Sympathizing in their views of the nature and their hopes of the dissemination of Christian truth, I should seem to be insensible to the special interest of this occasion, if, standing here to assist the reflections suggested by it, I should wander from that natural train of thought, which is leading my hearers to a consideration of the prospects of what we account uncorrupt Christianity.—I am to ask your attention to some particulars, in which we conceive that encouraging anticipations concerning it are authorized by the *signs of the times.*

I. We perceive favourable indications in the CIRCUMSTANCES OF OUR SOCIAL CONDITION. When the inquiry is presented to us, why just views of our religion have as yet made such partial progress, we find ourselves compelled to answer, that it has been in no small part owing to the *legal persecutions* against which they have had to struggle. In that long disastrous period which preceded the great religious revolution in the sixteenth century, it is well known how dissent in the most minute particulars was punished. In the very dawn of the reformation, views of our religion to a greater extent just, than one would suppose could possibly have been reached so soon and under circumstances so unpropitious, revealed themselves in various and disconnected quarters. But it was before long ascertained, by bitter experience, that the right of private judgment, in the proper extent of that principle, was by no means established, when the rulers of Protestant communities had vindicated it in arms for themselves. *Toleration*, or indulgence, appeared to be the most that the age was ripe for allowing to heretics,—that is, to the weaker party in a state; and even the limits of its toleration were extremely narrow. At the

height of the contest which Calvin was professedly carrying on for liberty of conscience, a brother reformer, for exercising his own, suffered martyrdom at his instance, under the most melancholy aggravations. When, warned by this event and others of a like character, the more consistent Protestants from the various states of Europe had fled to Poland,—then the freest country of that continent,—the flourishing community, which they established there, was assailed and at length subverted by a series of the most cruel oppressions. In Holland, severities of a similar kind arrested the reformation at its incipient stage. In our own parent country, within fifteen years after the first translation of the Bible, an ecclesiastick records, that ‘Arianism now shewed itself so openly, and was in such danger of spreading further, that it was thought necessary to suppress it by more rugged methods than seemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the Gospel.’\* From that period to the period of the revolution, capital executions for this offence were not few ; and, when it ceased to be a felony in that kingdom, it was made punishable with incapacities amounting to outlawry, by a statute which was only repealed within the last twelve years. No one, I trust, will suppose that these statements are made on account of the sentiment of strong disapprobation which they excite ; but, with the fact before us, that views of Christianity, like those which we maintain, have shown a strong tendency to reveal and diffuse themselves, and that the opposition which has arrested their progress has been not that of argument but of violence, we cannot but hope for them a better fate in an age of greatly improved legislation, and especially in a country, whose free institutions place them, as far as institutions of government can do it, on the ground of an equal competition.

But penal laws are by no means the only political provisions for dooming religious knowledge to a perpetual infancy. No contemptible influence is exerted by a *religious*

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\* *Strype, in his Life of Archbishop Cranmer.*

*establishment*, with its civil prerogatives, its magnificent endowments, and ample patronage. Nor may it be said that these can only operate on vain and mercenary minds. It is hard to determine how effectual may be a bias, which imperceptibly inclines an honest mind to prefer the worse to the better reason. An establishment invests itself with associations of permanence, respectability, and national honour, which have a peculiar attraction for men of character. Nay, a religious faith which has been long professed, even without any secular advantages, must needs be tainted with some extreme infirmity, if it have not wrought itself deep into the texture of society, and the retirements of just and generous feeling. Literature and manners must unavoidably have taken a tone from it. Opinions of every sort have become formed to it, so as to make it appear that a degree of incongruity would be produced by its abandonment. All the kindling associations of antiquity, which thoughtful men cherish, range themselves by its side to forbid a rude inquisition into its character. By it their fathers lived and died. The institutions under which they have prospered remind them that it was in the stimulus furnished by it that they were established and have been maintained ; and every monument of ancient worth, every scene of former heroick action or endurance, pleads for it with no feeble urgency. It is not to be doubted that minds, independent and inquisitive on other subjects, have been betrayed into acquiescence and inactivity concerning this by influences of the kind of which we speak ; and therefore we conceive our social institutions to be propitious to the cause of impartial inquiry and Christian truth, not only in their free character, but in their recent date. With us, every thing is too new for error to have had time thus to intrench itself ; besides that the sentiment which we associate the most strongly with all that we can call antiquity among us, is an independence and dread of human assumptions over the conscience.

II. We place no small reliance on the improved HABITS

OF THINKING which prevail. We observe that opinions which we reject have been recommended by a weight of authority, which has heretofore been able to afford them very efficient support. A subjection of its judgments to authority indicates a sensitive debility of the mind ; a condition of it, in which it has been either enervated and deprived of self reliance by fear, or has surrendered itself to the power of imagination and sentiment. The natural consummation of implicit self surrender to a traditional belief is witnessed in the mental dwarfishness of these Eastern nations, whose intellect has been cramped by it for ages. Under a similar tyranny the scarcely more improved portion of mankind, called civilized, long languished in a truly wretched condition of abjectness and impotence ; and crude and hasty opinions, started in a dark period of Christian history, were meanwhile maintained and transmitted in the character of venerable truths. But the influence of authority has sensibly declined. It has come to be understood, that, for the world to refuse to reform its opinions, as it grows older and more discerning, is no more to be justified, than for an individual to reject the judgments of his maturer years because they contradict his childish conceptions. We now take very little upon trust. It is the growing habit of the times for every man to have his own opinions ; and it is almost indispensable to our self respect and our claim of respect from others, that we should be able to maintain them by reasons of our own. Thus a main support of erroneous theories has been withdrawn ; and an upright unbiassed investigation of Christian truth is no longer so severe an effort for the mind.

Compared with others, this is not only an age of *independent judgment* but of *energetick* and *excursive inquiry*. It not only refuses to have *erreur* imposed upon it, but it goes out adventurously in pursuit of truth. The reverence which had been felt for forms of human device has not long and generally enough been transferred to the scriptures, the true source of knowledge and umpire in controversy, to bear freely, as yet, its proper fruits ; and there

are moral causes which have hitherto prevented the same general interest from being felt in religion as in other practical sciences. But we look forward with happy anticipations to a time, approaching in the probable course of events, when the intrepidity and earnestness which have characterized researches into other departments of knowledge, will be carried more extensively than now into the investigations of the sublimest of them all ;—when a due portion of the awakened intellect of men will be given to a curious inquisition into the sense of the *lively oracles*, a keen attention to learn that *mind of the Lord* which they disclose.

The present may perhaps be safely described as comparatively an age of *exact* thinking. A severer, if a less pretending logick has taken the place of that magnificent apparatus of self deception, which disputants of other times were used to wield. Men are not so apt as they have been to misapprehend the bearing of a known truth on a truth under discussion, or to permit the strength of their confidence to be widely out of proportion to the strength of their reasons. At any rate, whatever they may think of this, all will agree, that the age is of such a practical character as to be comparatively little prone to deviate from exactness on the side of mysticism ; and herein we discern an omen of no small encouragement. There has been no enemy to the power of Christianity greater than the imputation, under which it has laboured, of being a faith of mysteries. Nothing could more completely confuse, nothing could more effectually discourage the study of it, than to represent it as to such a degree intricate, and so essentially different from other subjects of human knowledge, as to unsettle by its adoption the radical principles of belief. Nothing could be more sure to prejudice thinking men against it, than the idea of its attempting a violent divorce of that eternal union which God has instituted between the understanding and truth. Nothing could more directly tend to deaden that interest of the mind in it, without which the interest of the heart has only a most feeble

and precarious life. No other source of error could be so endlessly prolific. If we can assent to one proposition that seems self contradictory, we may assent on the same terms to another ; and there is nothing to prevent us from believing, against all evidence, that Christianity is a fable, and the being of God a dream. In this age of wary thought the truth is less obscured than it has been, that the doctrines of revealed religion differ from other parts of our knowledge in the method of their communication and the importance of their uses, and not in the strange peculiarity of bearing a strong likeness to falsehood in its most distinguishing feature. In truths relating to religion, as well as others, we have begun to look for the appropriate signatures of truth. And there has appeared such a settled and growing dissatisfaction with arguments which assume that religion is a peculiarly unintelligible subject, that a corresponding change may already be observed in the conduct of controversies. We much less commonly than heretofore find doctrines, charged with involving contradiction, sheltered under the name of mysteries. They are now more frequently defended by attempts to show, that the alleged repugnancy to reason does not exist.

Besides these general principles of a reformation of religious opinion, there are particulars, in which a fatal inconsistency might be pointed out between single errors that have prevailed, and the habits of thinking that are gaining ground, such as in their natural tendency must needs operate to the subversion of the former. But it would lead us too far to attempt thus to particularize. If the almost obsolete doctrine of the saving power of ordinances is not the only popular tenet marked with the impress of an age that believed in charms and magick, rather than of an age accustomed to attend to a connexion between causes and effects, we may be sure that it is not to go alone into the tomb of once powerful delusions. If our belief is just, that the system improperly called orthodox has throughout a close congeniality with the infancy of the mind,—the immature,

unformed, dependent stage of its progress,—our inference is safe that, as the latter is left behind, the former too will disappear. False doctrines in religion were scarcely more securely established, three centuries ago, than false doctrines in politicks. If they rested equally on that basis of implicit, incurious, bewildered faith, which has since been effectually shaken, it was to be expected that the religious errors would be the last to be thoroughly exposed, because, among other reasons, the investigation of these is approached with a greater awe. The best among the triumphs of the reanimated mind of man has been achieved among ourselves. May we not hope that a far better still awaits it here? Our native country has led the way in the rejection of political errors. Is it forbidden by the *signs of the times* to hope, that it is to be also the pioneer of a wide religious reformation? The oversight of such solemn interests as the interests of this people, at stake upon their own exercise of independent and cautious thought, may safely be assumed to be so far a salutary discipline of the mind to prepare it for all grave investigations; and in the next generation will be comprehended many, who, in receiving the truths of uncorrupt Christianity, will not have those prejudices of education to correct, which have been obstacles, hard and grievous to surmount, in the way of most of their predecessors of this age.

III. We draw a favourable augury from the improved and improving STATE OF INFORMATION. The system of orthodoxy had its birth in a very ignorant period of the world. Such a period is its proper element; and, tenacious as it is of life, it does not seem to be properly constituted to thrive in any other. The doctrine of the Trinity, in the complete form in which it has been transmitted to us, dates from the latter part of the fourth century. It is traced to that system of philosophy,—unjustly called the Platonick, for few of its vagaries are chargeable on the philosopher from whom it borrowed its name—which, in that age of visionary speculation, abused the minds of studious men. The introduc-

tion into the church of total depravity and predestination, with their kindred errors, is referred to a period somewhat later ; but these doctrines never obtained a paramount authority in the church of Rome, nor appeared, till the era of the reformation, in the prominence into which they have since been forced. Of that period in the history of the religious world, to which the name *reformation* is commonly limited, no more can be justly said, than that an almost total eclipse began then to pass away from the mind. It was by no means to be expected, that a complete revision and expurgation of religious doctrine should be made in the course of a few years ; in the hurry and tumult of civil wars ; while so many practical abuses were first to be redressed ; while ancient prejudices were as yet only unsettled ; while not only the opposition of the bigotted was to be encountered, but also the scruples of the timid ; and while the art of thinking was yet to be learned. But what I am here particularly concerned to notice is, that the *learning* requisite for a successful criticism of the scriptures was very partially possessed by the leading reformers. They were but moderately acquainted with the original languages, and very imperfectly with those kindred dialects which have since thrown so much light upon scriptural phraseology.— Their investigations into the composition and history of the Bible had not been sufficiently extensive to correct essentially those false rules of interpretation which had prevailed ; and their comparisons of *spiritual things with spiritual* had been greatly incomplete. And let it be always remembered, that there was then no genuine good sense, as now, of a well informed common people, to correct the extravagancies of reasoning pride ; but men, whose minds were prepossessed with idle systems,—scholars, such as they were in those days, studying and reasoning in the trammels of a vitious scholarship,—were the instructors of Christians in Christian doctrine. It was not till a later period that the scriptures,—to say nothing of adequate means of understanding them,—could be said to be in the possession of the people



at large. Translations, it is true, were soon made ; but, in the existing state of unacquaintance with the elements of knowledge, their circulation was of course extremely confined, and the perception of their meaning still more so ; and the few, who could read and gather any opinions from them, were no match for the already organized ascendancy of those, who were theorists by profession, and, as such, incompetent interpreters, as theories then were, of a book like the Bible. I repeat it, the Bible cannot be said to have been to any considerable extent subjected to the investigation of unprejudiced men till within a recent period ; and I would particularly ask attention to this fact from those, who are fond of founding an argument on the opinions of the first settlers of this part of our country ;—men, worthy of all reverence for their virtues, but whose judgments on a question of scriptural research we can by no means prefer to our own. King James' version,—the first which came into very extensive use,—had scarcely been published when they landed in this country. How many copies is it probable they brought with them ? Of those whose opinions are now quoted as authority to us, how many is it reasonable to assume that there were, who had read the Bible with a patient scrutiny ? How many may be supposed to have had any definite information concerning its sense, distinct from what they had gathered from the expositions of systematick theologians ? Even the more judicious and learned Christian expositors, of that time and long afterwards, laboured under an inconvenience arising from their being but partially possessed of the requisite learning. I suppose no one can consult the early Arminian writers without being struck by the fact, that, while their good sense and comprehensive views of the Christian system, as a whole, often guided them with remarkable precision to the sense of particular passages in scripture, they were not seldom embarrassed, in maintaining their interpretation, by arguments which a more intimate acquaintance with its phraseology would have enabled them readily to repel. This is a deficien-

cy, which has long been in a course of adequate supply. If the doctrines of the Bible have not yet been extensively enough investigated with the lively interest which they deserve, few branches of knowledge, since the reformation, have received equally laborious attention from able men with those which elucidate its meaning. A pure text has been obtained by the collection of numerous authorities ; the original languages of scripture, and others which explain their words and forms of speech, have come to be vastly better understood than they were at the time when Protestant creeds were framed; the opinions, the manners, and events of the period to which the books of the New Testament refer,—all subsidiary branches of knowledge, in short,—have been curiously investigated ; and that argument on such questions is not doomed to be wholly unavailing, a satisfactory practical proof has been given in the almost unanimous dismissal from the controversy, by learned Christians of all opinions, of three texts,\* always reckoned among the most plausible in defence of the triple distinction in the Godhead. Scriptural knowledge has not only become far more comprehensive, profound and exact, but it has begun to assume a popular form, and has been brought sufficiently within the reach of common readers to give them some preparation for estimating the weight of statements and arguments proposed in expositions and controversy. It is as true as it is melancholy, that attempts to put the publick at large in possession of the needful information for a better understanding of the word of life, still meet with strong opposition. But that knowledge has been acquired ; it is secure ; and it will diffuse itself. Thanks to the kind providence which preceded the reformation of the Christian faith by an art for communicating and perpetuating truth, there is no suppressing it. It is the permanent, inalienable property of man. It will be time to fear that it will be lost, when we see the intellectual world stop short in its swift progress, and roll back towards the thick darkness from which the fifteenth

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\* *Acts*, XX. 28. 1. *Tim.* III. 16. 1. *John*, V. 7.

century delivered it. It is a steadily, though it be a silently operating agent of reform, destined to work more and more mightily for the overthrow of the strong holds of error.

It would be here the place to speak of another influence of the existing and improving state of information, in favouring the progress of religious truth ; but I have only time for a passing allusion to it. There is a principle of consistency in the human mind, which requires a correspondence between the different subjects of its belief ; and whatever opinion is distinctly seen to be adverse to or incongruous with the rest, must, if they are retained, be itself discarded. In this way we conceive that the progress of information of every sort is weeding out false opinions in religion. They are at war with all the rest of our knowledge ; and, the more our knowledge on other subjects is enlarged, the more distinctly will their discrepancy with it appear. Every new truth we discover, of any sort, is a new foe to them, and, as fast as its relations and consequences are observed, exerts an augmented power to expose and dispossess them. The stronger lights which will thus be thrown upon them will help to remove that indefiniteness to which they have so long resorted for shelter, and their real repulsive shape will be more and more palpably revealed.

IV. We discern an encouraging *sign of the times* in the STATE OF FEELING which exists, and is gaining ground.— Rational views of Christianity have been always pleading for a candid examination. They have been always urging, that they were ready to abide by the result of the most severe impartial scrutiny. But this privilege has been denied them. They have been regarded with jealous and stubborn prejudice ; and whatever converts they have made they have violently drawn to themselves by force of the strong reasons they were able to produce. It would be disingenuous to say, that this state of things has entirely ceased ; but we feel authorized to represent the temper of the times as comparatively a spirit of *candour*. The habit of liberal enquiry on all subjects favours such a spirit ; the

universal discipline of the mind, at the present day, is in no small degree congenial with its enlargement and elevation ; the eminent virtues of many persons, professing rational views of our religion, have done not a little to lighten the odium, under which they have laboured ; the weighty obligations, under which the world has come to distinguished individuals among them, has not been wholly without effect to conciliate it ; and the controversies, in which they have taken part, have caused their opinions and characters to be more justly estimated. Controversy, with all its temptations, is by no means to be indiscriminately charged with cherishing an unkind spirit. Nothing softens men so much as to see reasons for entertaining a mutual respect ; to be shewn that they, who differ from them, differ deliberately and conscientiously ; and never, at any period in Christendom of the most profound religious ignorance and apathy, were there so many, who could bear a contradiction, and consider an adverse argument with good temper, as at this busy period of religious discussion.

Again ; there are indications which seem to justify the remark, that the state of feeling, in respect to religion, is characterized by *engagedness*. There was perhaps never a time, when its doctrines were discussed in the Protestant world with more appearance of genuine interest ; when it made a more frequent subject of conversation ; when it could more readily command exertions and sacrifices ; or when its appropriate spirit had a greater control over the motions of society. Now in proportion as religion is felt to be a momentous reality, it is reasonable to expect that religious inquiries will be pursued with an intense desire to know the truth. That state of feeling, which has hitherto exposed the exercise of candour to the reproach of indifference, will disappear. That argument, which men never use with respect to trade, or politicks, or any thing else in which their minds are really engaged,—that it is of little consequence what a man believes—will no longer be used in respect to religion. It will be perceived that, of all kinds of truth,

that is infinitely the most valuable, which relates to men's infinitely most important interests ; and the energies of the mind will be bent to its acquisition in some better proportion to its worth.

Nor are those, who have habitually avoided the discussion of religious doctrines, the only persons, whose religious knowledge must needs be increased by a deeper conviction of its value. It is perfectly obvious, that many persons are animated by far more zeal in defending their opinions, than in ascertaining them. They are in earnest in *holding fast*, but not in *proving all things*, to see that what they hold fast is good ;—which would not be, if they had a deep practical interest in the subject. Indeed, so great have become the advantages for investigating Christian truth, that I am impressed with the belief, that nothing is so much wanting henceforward as *simplicity and godly sincerity* in the use of them. The thing mainly needful is to begin and conduct our researches under a strong impression of the importance of arriving at the truth, such as shall raise us above every meaner motive ; such as shall make us deaf to the solicitations of partiality and prejudice, inflexible by the favour or the fear of man. Men reason very carelessly on the subject of Christianity. They seem to think that they can be justified in starting with some general prepossession concerning it which has a plausible appearance, and interpreting the whole system by that key. Thus one takes for the basis of his reasoning some loose view of the divine sovereignty, and another arrives at opposite conclusions from views equally loose of the divine mercy. One, acknowledging the worth of an humble spirit, seeks to debase man from his station of a responsible agent, because he conceives that this would favour humility ; while another perceives that Christianity must be a serious or a fervent religion, and accordingly, whatever doctrine his judgment or his imagination connects with seriousness and fervour he hastily embraces without the due attention to its evidence. Men's

consciences are hard upon this point, or they would not do an injustice to religion, which they do to no other important subject, by theorizing so confidently upon it. They need a keener sensibility to the worth of truth, to lead them to search for it with a proper singleness of mind. Observe the success of their investigations in another science of great extent and subtilty. Questions of *law* respect the various rights and duties of the social state. New questions are continually arising, and are forthwith solved ; and the solution is rested upon grounds so satisfactory, that the cases are extremely rare, in which it is afterwards brought into dispute. Why then these endless debates in theology ? Is it because the science is more intricate ? No one will maintain it, who believes that God is good ; for it is but a few men in a nation who need to be versed in the obscure doctrines of social justice, but it deeply concerns every man to know the way of everlasting life. Is it because we have greater helps in the former department of knowledge, than in the latter ? On the contrary, the science of law is in great part the fabrick of unassisted human genius ; while, in studying the will of God, we have his word for *a light to our steps*. The difference is no other than this,—that we perceive and feel the practical importance of the investigations of the former science. We realize that any error would be attended with very serious evil consequences. We are therefore strictly on our guard against error. We watch against all the sources of deception. We suffer no intrusion of prejudice or interest. Our feelings and our fancies are sternly dismissed from the investigation. The truth and nothing but the truth is the object of our search, and therefore the truth reveals itself. When a scrutiny like this shall have been generally bestowed on the sacred records,—when the laws of evidence shall have been as honestly applied to them, and their decisions been sought out with an equal acuteness and vigour,—I see no cause to doubt that the genuine doctrines of religion will be as unanimously acknowledged as the doctrines of law ; and for such a consumma-

tion we are encouraged to hope by every appearance of increasing interest in religion.

One more remark respecting the habits of feeling which prevail. The *moral sentiment* of the times is in advance of that of earlier periods, and is still in a progress of elevation and refinement. The value of moral excellence is more acknowledged. Religion and goodness are not set in opposition, as in other times they have been. The treacherous and sanguinary men whom the gross devotion of other times has canonized, would attract no reverence in this period of the world ; and, tenaciously as the argument is still maintained, that moral worth,—the true perfection of man,—is of no account in the sight of God, there is still no theory which does not provide some method, however circuitous, to enforce its obligation. The omen is a good one. In proportion as the worth of moral excellence is perceived, the nature of Christianity, as an instrument for forming that excellence, will reveal itself also ; and there is no principle, more essential than this of its practical character,—its moral design,—to a consistent and comprehensive view of its truths.

There is another way in which an improved moral sentiment favours a right understanding of our religion. It tends to correct very erroneous conceptions of the divine character, which, taking their rise from a rude state of moral feeling, have done in past times deep discredit to our holy faith. It is within a recent period, that the doctrine of the damnation of infants was commonly maintained. The better moral sentiment of these times so revolts from it, that it is now very rarely, at least, avowed.—There is reason to hope, that a still greater sensibility to reproaches on the character of God, will before long silence that heart-withering charge against it, which is conveyed in the doctrine of election and reprobation. Already it is perceived to be critical ground, and that doctrine is set forth, not in its horrible nakedness, but in phraseology, which, by perplexing the subject, evades or qualifies the

strong disgust, with which it would otherwise be generally met. This alone is a great gain. The publick mind, no longer plied with arguments for believing things of God, which it would abhor in man, has not, to the same extent as formerly, its moral judgments confounded, and its devout affections repelled ; and, restored to its healthy tone, will soon be incapable of looking on such errors except with shuddering and loathing.

V. We form encouraging anticipations concerning the future, from the EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST, limited though it be. The principles of improved religious knowledge, to which we have referred, though as yet only tending towards their mature strength, have already borne excellent fruit ; and it is to be observed, that the parts of Christendom in which rational views of religion have made the greatest progress, have been those, in which the scriptures have been studied with the liveliest interest, and under the best advantages. In Geneva, the spontaneous soil, the central point and strong hold of orthodoxy, where, from the first establishment of Protestantism, religious studies have been industriously pursued by a select, accomplished, and, for a long time, bigotted clergy, they have already triumphed over the creeds of Calvin, and superseded his doctrine in the churches. In England, the secure establishment of the national church against the attempts of Popery on the one hand, and nonconformity on the other, had afforded no long time for calm investigation, before we find a large and most respectable portion of its clergy petitioning for relief from the obligation of subscription to articles, which they perceived to contain essential errors. In Holland, though it is but lately that a rigid censorship over the press has ceased, rational opinions in religion are understood already to prevail to no inconsiderable extent ; and in America they have diffused and are diffusing themselves with a rapidity, which has surprized even their advocates. Nor are we to estimate their progress merely by the numbers of those, who have adopted them.— They are justly considered to have gained ground in pro-



portion as the tone of the opposite errors is lowered ; and the controversies, by which they have been maintained, have undeniably had the effect, not only of making converts to them, but of bringing the views of their opponents much nearer to scripture and reason than they had been. With the same causes in continually stronger operation, which have actually reformed the views of so many of this generation, may not a great progress of religious opinion be reasonably looked for in the next ?

Such are some of the *signs of the times*, which we interpret to mean that a better day for Christianity is approaching. Can any prospect be more delightful to the eye of philanthropy or devotion ? Our religion was revealed to train men for all the various and excellent happiness, which their constitution makes them capable of enjoying. But it was revealed to an ignorant and wicked world, and it suffered cruel injury from the errors and vices which it came to correct. Philosophy first, in its vain pride, and then worldliness, in its base policy, took it into their charge ; and through many a gloomy century it was made to hold the mind in bondage, and the heart in barrenness. At length the great work of reformation was entrusted to men gifted for that office with the *spirit of knowledge and might, of understanding and of the fear of the Lord*. They addressed themselves to the task with an energy proportioned to its vastness, and the monstrous edifice of false religion shook to its base before their vigorous onset. But their undertaking was by no means of a magnitude to be summarily accomplished. The abuses which had prevailed had not been inattentive to their own preservation. They had used well the long period of their sway in disguising and fortifying themselves ; so that the reformers entered upon their work with very inadequate conceptions of its extent ; they prosecuted it, under such a disadvantage, against an almost

overpowering opposition ; and it is no wonder that they died and left it greatly incomplete. Meanwhile, the errors, which had escaped their animadversion or won their favour, had become in their turn established errors, and governments were pledged and prejudices enlisted in their behalf. There was no short period in Protestant history when the reformation seemed to be at a stand ; when the mind appeared to have been struggling under a load too heavy for it ; when there was cause to fear that religious liberty had only been wrested from its oppressors to be laid by in neglect. But it was an unjust fear. The mighty agent of intellectual and moral power, when it had burst its prison-house, only stood for a time to survey the field of its labours, and collect its strength. It is no inactive principle. It is either weighed down by fetters stronger than can now be forged, or it is working with all but omnipotent energy at all the springs of society and thought. Already some of the most grievous abuses have fallen in the dust before it ; and already errors, which have not yet ceased to maintain a confident bearing, are quaking at the speed of its noiseless march. We live at the happy age to witness its triumphs. Our eyes are privileged to see the progress of this great *salvation of the Lord*.

I am far from maintaining, that the work of religious reform is mainly effected. There are mighty instruments in operation to forward it ; but it is a great and difficult work, and will find occasion for all the force they can exert.—There is much indifference on the subject, which is only to be aroused by vivid, and various, and seasonable exhibitions of its importance. There remains a lamentable degree of ignorance concerning it, which is only to be informed by much time and patient industry. There are still many deeply seated prejudices, which it is a delicate and a slow task to root out. The chain, with which errors in religion have bound themselves to men's interests and passionate needs to be broken link by link. To expose them is often to encounter displeasure and distrust, and here is a discour-

agement and a disadvantage. But the situation of him who, in this period of the world, *contends for the pure faith once delivered to the saints*, is still far different from theirs who have assumed the same office in other times. They indeed had reason to believe,—for the word of God was their assurance,—that the *counsel of the Lord* should at length and permanently *stand*. They had a warrant for the persuasion, that *every plant which their heavenly father had not planted*, deep as it might have struck its roots, and many as there might be unwilling to resign its shade, must at length *be rooted up*; and, little as the condition of the world seemed to favour the diffusion of Christian truth, to doubt that it would one day prevail would have been a distrust of providence; for he who made Christianity for man no doubt fitted it for his cordial reception in some period of his progress. But still their faith was confirmed by nothing within the compass of their sight; and often must the impatient inquiry have risen to their lips; *how long, oh Lord! how long?* The day, so anxiously looked for, of a thorough religious reformation, has dawned upon us. The mists of the morning still obscure its rising sun; but it is melting them fast as it climbs to its meridian, and scatters *healing from its wings*. We rejoice in its light. We bless the kind providence that sends its animating influences, and welcome to their happy destiny them who shall watch it, as it sheds the *perfect day*.

Meanwhile, to what purpose is it to *discern* these favourable *signs of the times*, unless it be to encourage us to follow the leadings of providence, and do our endeavour that the signs we rejoice in may be fulfilled? While we profess so much satisfaction that we have been led to adopt the faith of Christ in its primitive simplicity, let me ask the question, whether we are sufficiently in the habit of regarding it as a *trust*; whether we perceive distinctly enough that an obligation lies upon us to pray, give, and labour for its diffusion? I am confident in affirming, that no man, who has received it, can consistently observe its progress with uncon-

cern ; that on no ground, except that of natural incapacity, can any man dispense himself from the duty, *even as he hath received the gift, of ministering the same as a good steward of the manifold grace of God.* No ! he who, in this age of limited religious knowledge, has been brought to the reception of *the truth as it is in Jesus*, has received a broad commission for the service of mankind ; he has been appointed to a weighty charge ; he is aided by great advantages ; and he will be called to a strict reckoning. The Protestant reformers,—when the work was to be begun, and a voice or a hand was lifted for its aid at the risk of all that feeble nature shrinks from,—might better have been pardoned, if they had all *begun with one consent to make excuse* ; but if we, when the work is to be carried on at the hazard of only a little inconvenience or obloquy ; if we, taking it up at that advanced point that three centuries more of equal progress with the last three would place it beyond the power of opposition ; if we should suffer it to be overborne, what name of contempt will a wronged posterity find, expressive enough to immortalize our infamy ?

I shall be told, perhaps, that it can scarcely be of great consequence to labour for the reformation of errors in religion, because the Christian character is found exhibited in equal excellence among the professors of different systems of religious doctrine. I would be the last to call in question the substantial justness of this statement, whatever qualification a close analysis might show it to require. I trust I not only acknowledge, but deeply and humbly feel it to be to a great extent true ; and I would be rebuked and excited by the eminent graces of some whose belief I call in important respects corrupt,—dishonourable to God, opposed to scripture, and adverse to religious progress. So far from their religious character being uncharitably implicated in the judgment which is passed on their opinions, they themselves will be the readiest to allow, that, if they have erred through want of caution, diligence and prayer, they are convicted of an unfaithfulness, for which they have need of par-

don ; and, on the other hand, the admission will as readily be made, that, if their error has been involuntary and unavoidable, the virtues which they formed, under the disadvantages arising from it, are only more complete evidence of their hearts being *right with God*. They have become good Christians in despite of their errors, by force of those leading religious truths, which, standing aloof from their false theories, and aided by their good feelings and good sense, alone exerted a really efficient power over their lives. But, while we emulate their attainments, may we not think that a character, whose root was so firm as to withstand such a shock, might have swelled into still nobler dimensions under the culture of a more spiritual and generous faith ? Must we not wish that they had been saved from a kind of temptation, of which we have only to say that they have not been shaken by it as might have been feared ? Can we reasonably expect that error will be always without effect ; that it needs not to be discarded, because it will always be disarmed ; that in all other hearts it will be counteracted and inoperative as it has been in theirs, and all other men will love, as cordially as they have done, a God whom they account a *respector of persons*, and a race whom they believe to be thoroughly and malignantly wicked ? Can we justify it to ourselves to have no concern for that large description of men, who,—believing religion from the unjust representations they have heard of it to be a narrow, inexplicable, repulsive thing,—never acquaint themselves intimately with the spirit of its sanctifying rules, the peace and joy of its elevating consolations, nor know it in any other character than as a punctilious and at the same time obscure law-giver, whose requisitions they flatter themselves must at last be dispensed with, for the very reason that it is so difficult to meet, or even to ascertain them ? Is it not worth some pains at our hands to present religion to such men in her substantial winning shape, that she may take hold of the hand with which they are groping in darkness, and guide their now undirected steps ? Have we no concern

for the wasted glory of those finer minds, which, able to put forth the choicest hue and fragrance under the pure glow of heaven, have languished and withered beneath the touch of a blighting skepticism? Have we no compassion for them, because they have been so much in fault; do we not care to reclaim the infidel, by showing him that the trifling or incredible dogmas, which his hasty reason rejected, do not belong to our religion, and that it is a religion, which he who prizes his understanding, and would give it its most ample culture, cannot reject, and cannot overrate? Have we no pity for the Mohammedan, the heathen, and the Jew; and do we not care to present the saving faith of Jesus to them with her *beautiful garments* put on, instead of her motley disguise of Oriental and Gothick metaphysicks, that they may no longer turn away with such an unhesitating incredulity?—Let us do no such injustice to the omnipotence of truth as to think it a sluggish element. It is thoroughly instinct with life. There is no estimating the vigour of its vitality, or the bounty of its fruitfulness. And it is not our business to estimate them. But it is our business to place it where it may spread and fructify. The religious sentiment which we do not hold for truth is worthless or mischievous; and we must reject it. That which we do hold for truth is inestimable; and we must impart it. If the reformers had reckoned the dissemination of just religious views no worthy object of great zeal, we might now have been buying indulgencies, or doing whatever other impious act an infatuated ecclesiastical authority might have imposed; for they too might have argued,—while the church of Rome can form such characters as those of Ximenes and More, why take the risk and trouble of reforming it? If it be not a fit object of human effort, why does the divine providence seem now to be moving it so rapidly onward on the swelling current of human improvement? No! religion was meant to do no less an office than to lay a powerful hand on all the affections and faculties of men. False religion, in its least hurtful form, is that same hand smitten with palsy, which though

it should be as willing, can never be so strong.—Divine wisdom is our pledge, that the unadulterated system of evangelical truth is able to form a Christian character of greater grace and elevation,—is able to develope and mature a more godlike virtue,—than is within the reach of the most respectable among its counterfeits. Acknowledging, as all men do, the imperfection of the Christian character, as it has been hitherto exhibited in the best of Christians, we have a right to assume that the proper instrument for removing that imperfection is the unobstructed power of purely Christian truth. But, even if it were not so,—even if we should allow truth to be no more fit than error *for the use of edifying* the really religious mind,—we should still have motive enough for striving to diffuse it, in the hope of engaging the indifferent, convincing the skeptick, and evangelizing the heathen. The statement that sincere men, who believe error, are as advanced Christians as sincere men who believe truth, would be unsatisfactory in this connexion, however just it might be proved to be. The undeniable and the really important consideration is, that, according as religious truth or error prevails in the world, the amount of religious feeling and conduct in the world is greatly augmented or abridged.

Will we justify ourselves then for taking no part in this momentous work by such arguments as, that *the truth is great and will prevail* ;—that God knows how to accomplish his own great purposes, and, when the time is come, will bring them to pass without any help of ours? God is able to accomplish his own purposes ; but, when they have related to human welfare, it is not often that he has accomplished them except by human agency. Truth is great, and will prevail. But it will prevail because it is great enough to enlist strenuous minds in its cause. It was great in the Apostles' times ; but it did not prevail, till, by impressive evidence of the power of its confessors to do and to bear, it had overpowered the bigotted opposition of an unbelieving world. It was very great at the period of the Protestant

reformation, and it prevailed, because it was great enough to nerve its champions to do desperate duty on the fields of Switzerland and Germany, and its martyrs to glut the flames and dungeons of England, Italy, and Spain. We are not to expect miracles to do what God has designated for the appropriate work of well-principled human energy. We are not to discharge ourselves from the duty of promoting a good object, by saying that it cannot but be contemplated in the counsels of God. God designs that his truth shall be diffused; and he designs that men impressed with its worth, and faithful to its obligations, shall diffuse it. The event is to take place, because men will not always be content to express a confidence in its power, for the purpose of releasing themselves from its service. We have only to decide whether it shall be advanced by our instrumentality, or left for other hands; and our assumption, true as it may abstractly be, will be false in its application, as long as it is used for our apology. We are self-contradicted, if we argue that truth is great enough to make its way, while our conduct shows that it is not great enough to command from us those services, by means of which it must ultimately triumph.

Do we say, then, that we will not be fellow-workers with providence in this great work of religious reformation, because it will subject us to the imputation of a party spirit? God forbid that such a spirit should ever actuate us! It wages deadly war with that temper of universal charity, which is the distinguishing temper of the Gospel and its author. It gives the mole's eye, and the adder's ear, and makes the heart like the nether mill-stone. God keep us from bringing scandal on such a holy cause, by enlisting for it such a corrupt auxiliary, and dispose us,—so far from labouring for it with any selfish view,—to wish from our hearts, that, if we have mistaken its character, a signal defeat may follow all our endeavours for its advancement! But, on the other hand, let us remember, that the promoters of the largest designs of the most pure and elevated chari-



ty are liable to the stigma of a party zeal ; and we are by no means at liberty to abandon a post of duty because of the danger that a bad name may be applied to the earnestness, with which we labour in it. It would be an easy task indeed to frustrate good undertakings, whose accomplishment requires joint effort, if to call their advocates partisans were sufficient to discourage them ; and would it not be a shameful confession, that a good cause suffered for want of our support, because we feared our motive would be mistaken ? If we are capable of being moved by such an apprehension, we may be sure that it is not such advocates as we, that any cause asks, or can be advanced by. But are we anxious lest we should become tinctured, and not lest we should be charged with a narrow spirit of party ? This is a reasonable anxiety, and we ought to cherish it. It is an anxiety, however, which, vigilant as it ought to make us, does not entitle us to find our safety in unprofitableness. We have no right to shrink from entering on a sphere of duty, which God has opened, because he has also placed temptations there. What would the condition of the world be now, if they, who have rendered it important services, had excused themselves, because of the danger, that, by the fault of others, they might be placed in situations where their dignity might be exposed, or beset with opposition calculated to ruffle their tempers ? If we are truly fit for God's service and the world's, we shall distinctly contemplate these dangers, and cautiously guard against them ; but we shall not practice such a self-deception as to think of evading them by relinquishing our set task. When the best happiness,—the most weighty interests of others are in some sort given us in charge, we have no more a right to abandon them, for fear of being tempted to promote them in a narrow spirit, than we should have a right to say, that we will not give in charity lest we should contract a habit of profuseness, and that we will not ask in prayer, lest we should be tempted to a negligence of our secular concerns. One way alone is safe for us ;—to enter boldly on the field

of our appointed duty, and trust humbly to our own watchfulness and the grace of God, whom we are serving, to secure us in its attending trials.

This is the spirit by which we should be actuated;—a glowing zeal to promote the influence of our religion, and a jealous self-distrust, lest our ardour should betray us into any deviations from its path. A party spirit never served religion, and it never will. We must give it no aliment; we must allow it no indulgence. If suspected, it discredits our labours; if real, it vitiates and makes them vain.—Without a fervent, and, if need be, a self-denying spirit of religious reform, on the other hand, religious truth is not to advance; and, unless we will say, that the cause which God most favours deserves not our concern, we shall not discard the one because of the odium which justly weighs upon the other. They are so easily distinguished, that it would seem as if only blindness or perversity were in danger of confounding them.—When we aim at the defeat of an opponent rather than at his conviction,—to work him shame and not to do him good; when our dissent from his opinions estranges or impairs our good will; above all, should we be tempted to aim at an advantage over him by any artifice,—it is no better than an earthborn party spirit which impels us, though it be presumptuous enough to call itself a *zeal for God*.—But, if we have such a sincere generous love of truth as to labour and rejoice in its dissemination, not for our credit who offer it, but for the sake of its own precious uses; if our benevolence, and not our pride, is wounded by its rejection and gratified by its prevalence, this is an ardour which cannot glow too warmly. It is the appropriate spirit of reformers. It is the spirit of apostles; of the Son of God himself.

When this spirit exists as it ought, the question will not need to be asked, in what way it shall be manifested. It will throw itself into wide and various action, and the world will bear its trophies. Is the inquiry made, however, what we, of this age, may particularly do towards the dif-

fusion of a powerfully enlightening and sanctifying faith ? I answer : Some of us may carefully expound, and formally maintain it. The least demand it makes of us is that of a frank avowal of our sense of its reality and importance. It cautions us against representing the distinction between itself and error as immaterial, as against a habit of evil omen. We are not indeed required to sequester the church from its proper uses to make it a theatre of controversy. Far from it. But, in whatever department or connexion we undertake to exhibit truth, we must represent it distinctly as it has disclosed itself to us, and not in those generalities which make it ambiguous and unaffecting ; still less, with an appearance of reserve, of self-diffidence, and cold preference for it, which can have no directer tendency, than to prevent any strong reliance on our more explicit statements. Besides, the *steward of the mysteries of God* is not limited in his duty or opportunities to the office of dispensing them from the desk ; and those truths of religion, which, from the intricacy or extent of their proofs, do not admit of being there advantageously discussed, he may disseminate by the circulation of written arguments, the fruit of his own or of others' scriptural studies.—Ministers and parents have access to the forming minds of those who are forthwith to speak the publick voice, and the fair tablet should be carefully stamped by them with the deep and graceful impress of truth.—Christians should be faithful to it in the walks of their common life, and the sentiments of their familiar conversation.—There is no so worthy object for the devotion of the more efficient class of minds. What is a poem written to a soul edified, or an office won to a principle established ?—The eminent and popular friends of uncorrupt religion should in all unostentatious ways make known their attachment to it, that as far as possible they may transfer to it the respect in which themselves are held ; and they, who have been won to it where it is in disrepute, should on their part,—‘unshaken, uneduc'd, unterrified’—shew by a manly though a meek profession, that

they are *not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*, as it has manifested itself to them. They should regard themselves as appointed to maintain its honour and assert its claims each in his separate sphere ; and, so far from permitting themselves to be dispirited or overborne, should rejoice in being *counted worthy*,—if that should be,—*to suffer shame for such a name*. What have they to fear, believing, as they must, that the defenders of the declining corruptions, which they assail, are but writing the epitaphs of their fame ? What more would they have to stimulate them, when they consider that the grateful memory, in which the world holds its inventors and discoverers in art and science, is languid compared with what must be cherished hereafter by saints in earth and heaven for every individual, who has done a worthy service in restoring to the faith of Christ its primitive integrity and power ?—Religious truth is to be advanced towards its due ascendancy by the labours of a learned and devoted ministry ; and our institutions for forming and supporting such a ministry should not be left to languish. Establishments for preparatory education to it under circumstances favourable to independent and intelligent inquiry, and to the due development of that character, mental and religious, which it demands, are a prominent object of attention. The interests of religion are unspeakably concerned in ample endowments of every kind, and a competent and attentive supervision being provided for them.—Missionaries should be sent out by a systematick and liberal charity ; not into well ordered christian communities, able to provide christian privileges for themselves. A breach of christian charity may not be thus risked for the introduction of a more correct religious theory, and where the *power of godliness* prevails, the *doctrine according to godliness* may be safely left to work its own way. But they should be sent into the moral wastes of our own country to *make them rejoice and blossom*. They should be sent to those rising but feeble churches, whose corrected views require an enlightened ministry *to build them up in the most holy*

*faith*, and help them grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour. They should be sent to undeceive those misbelieving nations who have as yet no worthier idea of our religion than that it is a system which they could not understand nor receive, if they were ever so well disposed,—and so bring back, if it please God, from distant continents and islands, a new and brilliant evidence of its power.—This is a reading age, and there is no more direct access of light to men's minds than through 'the spectacles of books.' It becomes us to take care that this avenue be every where provided for its entrance. Societies for the gratuitous distribution of the scriptures, should be bountifully patronized. They have already been read to vast profit, and they are to be read to greater profit still. Books assisting in the explanation of them,—popular commentaries and treatises,—books of devotion, sermons, religious narratives, and polemical writings from the most elaborate to the most familiar,—should be put in liberal circulation by the charitable care of the opulent. There is a great taste and demand for all such works, and *cast as they may seem on the untracked waters*, there is a rich return from them *after many days*.—Finally and chiefly, every individual should be perpetually and earnestly intent on recommending what he receives for religious truth by his own bright example of its efficacy. This is an unobtrusive argument, but ultimately it never fails to be to a great extent a triumphant one. Never were contemned heresies more unsparingly vilified than were those of the Methodists and Friends; but they have *lived* their way into publick veneration. No good man,—however he may dissent from their theories,—silently hears them reviled or ridiculed.\* They have not only overcome prejudice, but have actually gained prejudice over to their side by the humble fervour of their piety, and the splendid labours of their beneficence. The Catholicks are in many places regaining their once

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\*This was written and preached before the author had seen an article upon the Friends in a late number of the Christian Spectator.

forfeited standing by a similar honourable course. Here is experimental proof, that we are able, by the persuasive testimony of holy lives, to relieve our views of christianity from that weight of unreasonable dislike, by which we have lamented to see them oppressed. When we observe the power of exemplary goodness to disarm uncharitableness against what we account error, we must needs allow to it an invincible power to disarm uncharitableness against what we account truth ; and we should feel that we owe it to the interests of christianity as well as to our personal religious interests *to serve God in all things with a perfect heart and with a willing mind ; to walk in wisdom towards them who are without, in meekness instructing them that oppose themselves, and steadily to practice that pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and keep ourselves unspotted from the world.* The work may be long in prosecution to try the faith, or display the resources, or purify the zeal, or punish the remissness, or mature the graces of its friends ; but, labouring thus for its advancement, we may well be content to await its consummation with a patient confidence.

In the natural course of events, the house which we have this day met to devote to sacred uses may probably be standing when we, and our children, and our children's children, and those to whom they shall give birth, are all assembled in the silent congregation. If no casualty befalls it,—when the forms that as yet have no name shall approach to arrest and anticipate the work of decay, and relieve this ground of its then ancient burden, how many events will have become old history, whose rudiments yet lie hidden from us behind the veil of coming time ! We may not go behind that veil to look for a solution of the signs of the present day, nor presumptuously affirm, that we have now read their augury aright. But great events will no doubt before then

have been registered, whose causes are even now seen in motion ; and, when one considers the vigorous action and apparent direction of these causes, is it absurd to suppose that, before that day, this may be a pillar in a universal Protestant church bound together more closely, at least, than now, in the fellowship of *one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, even the Father of all* ? Is it wild to imagine that many an already tottering column of an erring faith will fall sooner than these strong walls ?—Meanwhile, it is safe to anticipate, that thousands of immortal beings will here have been dedicated at the beginning of their earthly pilgrimage and remembered at its close. They will be brought hither in the fond arms of their parents, the fond hope of their grateful hearts. Again they will come with the thoughtful brow of manhood, and again on the faltering step of age ; and then they will come no longer, but mourners for them will fill their places. Their children, and their children's children, like them, will be born, and die, and *return to their dust*, and the posterity of those who first come to worship in these courts, will have given place to strangers, whom they, nor their fathers, knew not. In this house, where no sabbath has ever yet witnessed cold devotions offered, or God's message unfaithfully proclaimed, the *glad tidings of great joy* will have warmed many a pious heart, or fallen dead on many a heedless ear, and a *host which none now can number* of immortal spirits will be looking back on it from the world of retribution, with blessings on its improved, or bitter self-condemnation for its lost opportunities. With anxious, but with cordial greetings, we bid it God speed on its passage down to future generations. *For our brethren and companions' sakes, we would affectionately say ; peace be within it.* May the Father of mercies and God of all grace always guide and govern the momentous concerns which are to be transacted within its walls, and make it to many heirs of salvation the abiding place of his presence, the *gate of heaven* !

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## SERMON IV.

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### ON MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN.

I. COR. X. 15. *I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.*

It is the province of a Christian minister to speak with confidence and urgency, whenever he is able to ground what he utters on express declarations of the word of God. But when his object is, to apply the general rules of our religion to exigencies occurring in the course of providence, a different tone often becomes him better. He has then no advantage over his hearers for the forming of a right judgment, and he must not dogmatize. On the other hand, he is not justified by this circumstance in withholding from them his opinion on important questions, which from time to time connect themselves with religious duty, because they are entitled to the benefit, such as it may be, of comparing his meditations on such subjects, with their own.

It is to a subject belonging to this latter class, that I now solicit your candid attention. Some remarkable events, which have taken place in a distant country, have brought forward into general notice the question concerning the obligation of Christians, to make efforts for the diffusion of their faith. Owing, in no small degree, to the ill success which has hitherto, for the most part, attended such attempts,—to some obnoxious means which have been used in prosecuting them,—and to other causes, hardly to be specified, without casting reproach on another class of Christians,—they labour under the disapprobation of some excellent and judicious minds. I am far from saying that the reasons which influence such minds, are without weight. I am far from thinking so. Still further, nay, as far as possible, would I be from imagining, that to see this subject in a different light,



from that in which it presents itself to me, shows any want of genuine Christian zeal. I know bright examples to the contrary. But regarding the subject in one view, the reasons which are given for regarding it in the other, have, of course, failed to satisfy me. Such of these as occur to my recollection, I propose now to consider ; in doing which I desire to speak my opinion freely as to fair minded, and at the same time, modestly, as to wise men. Ponder ye and judge what I shall say.

I. We hear it objected, that propositions for a Christian mission to the Heathen, come ill from those by whom they now are made, because we profess our belief that sincerity is the one thing needful, and that in every nation, Pagan as much as evangelized, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.

1. This objection, you perceive, relates not to the practicability, but to the importance of the enterprize. Its language is, it is needless to convert the heathen, because their salvation does not depend on their reception of the Christian doctrine. Now it seems to me, that it is not needless to convert them, even putting the future life wholly out of view. Unless Christians mistake the character of their religion, it tends greatly to the present happiness of every individual who embraces and lives by it. It enkindles good affections, such as no other discipline has been found able to form to the same degree. It furnishes the most complete defence yet discovered against the disquiets of the mind, against grief and anxiety ; and opens in it a perennial spring of hope and joy. Under its influence has arisen the happiest form of social life yet known. False religion,—I affirm it without exception, and taking the lowest ground,—has been universally a system deficient in satisfaction for the individual mind, and fruitful in evils to the social state. To go into details on this point, would be to compose volumes. The most favorable examples that can be quoted to the contrary, are delusive. The Hindoo, so scrupulously merciful that he will not taste animal food, will burn his mother, and throw his child to reptiles. Prove to me that unnatural cruelty and sensual grossness do not of their nature occasion an immense amount of suffering, or point me to the idolatrous system, which does

not lead to them, and I give up the argument. Meanwhile I confidently ask of any Christian, whether, regarding this life only, it is not a happiness to possess our religion ; and if a happiness to possess, must it not be a kindness to impart it ?

2. Again, apart from its effects on condition, either here or hereafter, is not the possession of a pure and heavenly temper, a spirit affectionate towards God and man, self-possessed, patient and humble, itself a possession of great worth ? Distinct from the consequences of an ill-regulated heart and life, which are apt to be too exclusively regarded, is not the salvation from moral evil itself, from low and false tastes, perverted affections, and evil practices,—however much owing these may have been to an ignorance which was not voluntary,—is not this a salvation abundantly worthy of our endeavours to obtain for ourselves, and therefore to obtain for others ? And do we believe, do we imagine, that this is to be obtained in any other way, so effectually, as in the use of those aids which the Gospel of Christ affords ? Are we not persuaded, that there is no other discipline so efficacious towards giving to the moral powers of man their full development ? Do we conceive that the sincerest person under the influences of heathen principles and practice, has equal advantages for the attainment of a pure and generous virtue, with a believer in the Gospel ? Does it seem to us credible that he should ever come to present an equally beautiful example of that likeness to higher beings, to which man is capable of attaining ? Do we not think we perceive in our religion a capacity to raise the character of the *race*, as well as of the individual ; to unfold this germ of heaven-implemented intellect and feeling in the general human mind, and ripen it to an expansion, strength, and grace, heretofore unknown to our experience ? And if it seems to us thus suited to advance the progress of individual and universal man, is not this a weighty reason, for desiring to put it in operation over the widest possible extent ?

3. But, as to this doctrine in its strictest application that it is not important to the heathen to alter their form of faith, because sincerity is sufficient to justify them in the sight of God. I presume not to call in question this latter proposition. I ask but for an explanation of the sincerity which is spoken

of. I shall be told that what is meant is, a real purpose and desire to do one's duty, according to the light which one possesses. Nothing less than this can be maintained to be a preparation for everlasting happiness. I go on to say then, that to produce this very sincerity is one of the great uses of Christianity. I am far from maintaining that it may not exist, and does not exist in many instances, where the advantages of our religion are not enjoyed. I have great happiness in believing that numbers who have cherished it will come at the day of account from the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the south, to be gathered into the fold of the redeemed. But, I ask whether there is not a peculiar force exerted in the revelation through Jesus Christ, to root in the heart this very sentiment, which is relied on as the great qualification for everlasting happiness? Do we think a person as likely to become thus sincere, without the Gospel in his hands, as with it? Do we think that as many instances are in fact to be found of this sincere devotion to the service of God and man, in heathen as in Christian countries? If these questions are answered in the negative, no more is wanted to the argument.

4. Again, Christianity while it distinctly teaches that this sincerity determines the future lot of him who cherishes it, distinctly teaches also that there are to be degrees of future happiness. And, as it seems to me, the theory of religion and the analogy of this life, alike unavoidably lead us to the inference, that intended as we are to be as happy as we are capable of being, and the exercise of the graces enforced by Christianity being the great source of enjoyment to a moral being, then, in exact proportion to the maturity to which those graces have been brought in any mind, must be the sources and amount of its heavenly felicity. If it be so, and I see not how this view can be impeached, though it extends to ground where one hesitates to tread, then it follows, that even to those sincere heathen, whose sincerity alone would recommend them to the divine favour, our religion would be an incalculable blessing; since it would give them aid towards purifying their hearts, and rightly ordering their lives, which with their good dispositions they would highly value, and faithfully improve; and would guide and

strengthen them, in the attainment of a higher religious excellence, and accordingly and proportionably of a higher happiness hereafter.

5. But, besides and beyond all answer by argument to this objection, I can in no way see that it does not lie with precisely equal force against the original revelation of Christianity. When God revealed, and our Lord and his apostles published this religion, was it not as true as at this moment, that in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him? As far as an argument against the necessity of diffusing our beneficent faith can be maintained upon this ground, let it be shown why it might not equally have been urged upon *them*. Was a sincere man among the Roman sages then, in spiritual peril one particle greater than a sincere East Indian now? To attend to a less consideration, was Greek or Parthian in a wretched condition of *social life*, more demanding some merciful intervention to raise him to a better, than Greenlander or Caffrarian at this day? Was the moral darkness, and the moral danger of the world at the era of the third Cæsar,—reckon its absolute amount as you will,—was it greater than that of Pagan nations of the present period? And if the truth that safety depends on sincerity, and not on forms of faith, did not then prevent the promulgation of Christianity at grievous cost,—as it certainly did not,—why should this same truth, for here I speak of nothing else, now prevent endeavours to diffuse it? The reason for publishing it, was then what it now is. A heart right with God, however unenlightened, no doubt is, and always has been, an object of his complacency. But it is the nature of Christianity to produce more of those sincere men whom God approves, to make them better men than they have otherwise the means of becoming, and so to make all who receive and use it happier in this life and the next.

II. If there is force in these reasonings, they imply an answer also to the second objection which falls beneath our notice. It is said that religious faith is strictly a concern between the individual and his Maker, and that no foreign influence may rightfully be used to change it.

The argument is good against the use of coercive measures to change another's faith, or rather his profession, for

faith is not to be so changed. But the kind of proselytism which we defend is not like the Mohammedan offer of the option of the Koran or the sword. A man has a right to his own opinions ; that is, he has a right, not to be subjected to injury for entertaining them. But to assert that his opinions are erroneous, and to endeavour to prove them so, is to do him no harm, nor to impair in any degree his liberty still to maintain them, if he still see cause. If we are satisfied that it would be greatly for his happiness to renounce them in favour of others, it is not encroachment nor arrogance, but simple charity, to endeavour, affectionately, seasonably and judiciously, to influence him to make the substitution. Especially is it so, when the belief, which we recommend, has not before been brought fairly to his notice, so that he cannot be supposed to cleave to his own, from enlightened and deliberate preference. As to the idea, that men's religious convictions are a thing so exclusively resting between themselves and their Maker, that other men must feel no concern in them, how can it be defended ? Are we not made to take an interest in each others' welfare ; and will it be said that men's religious convictions, right or wrong, have absolutely no connexion with their welfare ? How is it that our state of sentiment on this subject is more absolutely an individual concern, or ought more to exclude a friendly interference to correct it, than our state of sentiment on any matter of philosophy or art ? Should we hesitate to explain and prove the system of the world to one who believed our earth to be its centre, because he had a right to his opinion, and we had scruples about encroaching on his liberty of thought ? Would not such a delicacy be still less excusable in a case where his happiness should be more intimately concerned, and would he not have more cause to reproach us, if in such a strange scrupulosity concerning his rights, we should disregard what we saw to be for his well-being ?

III. But not much reliance, I suppose, is placed upon this objection. A third which we sometimes hear is, that when it shall please God that the heathen world be converted, he will interpose with a miraculous agency to accomplish that end. And this too I pass lightly over, because I never heard any reasons alleged in its support, nor do I at all understand

on what grounds such an opinion can be embraced. The universal diffusion of our faith is predicted in scripture ; but no where is it said, or hinted, that that event is to be brought about by miraculous means. No where are we taught to look for any future direct interposition of Almighty Power. On the contrary, we are given to understand, that the Christian revelation was designed for the finishing, the consummation, the crown of divine discoveries of this nature ; that when once introduced into the world,—which it could only be, by means of miracles,—it was intended thenceforward to work its own way, and invested with power to do this. Also, if we will look at it, we shall see plainly that it possesses such a power. It contains within itself provision for its own spread, and it appeals to standing evidence, which vast numbers of penetrating and cautious inquirers find to be satisfactory. This shows, that that evidence is of itself sufficient to convince without supernatural assistance, which is all that it is here to the purpose to maintain. And in fact those Christian nations, with which we have most to do, were converted to Christianity without any superhuman intervention, and in the use of such means, as it is now equally in the power of Christians to employ. Was it by the exhibition of any miraculous works, that Gaul and Britain were turned to the faith ? No protestant will pretend it. They were turned from their idols to serve the living God, by the labours of zealous men, who had no other omen nor demonstration than those of their good cause, and neither in the testimony of Scripture, in the necessity of the case, nor in the past history of its dissemination, have we any warrant for supposing, that when in the completion of prophecy, it shall be communicated at some time hereafter to Hottentot, and Hindoo, it will be communicated in any other way. You believe that your religion is to be universally diffused, but you look for miracles to diffuse it. Consider ; does it give you authority for this expectation, or rather does it seem expressly to commit itself to the care of the spirit which it excites in its disciples ? Are its standing evidences in themselves satisfactory, or not ?—in themselves satisfactory, I say, for the question as to the ability of heathen minds to weigh them, is incidental, and belongs too to another topick, which

I am to treat. It has been diffused over wide regions since the apostolick age, but since the apostolick age, has it in any case, been diffused by miracles?

IV. I proceed to a fourth objection, which appears to me much more weighty. It is urged that heathen nations are not prepared for the reception of our faith; that to offer it to them, is vainly to contend against an unconquerable force of circumstances,—by which I take for granted is meant the adverse state of society and sentiment among them. This may, or may not be true; but what I desire to have remarked is, that it is not a proposition capable of being maintained on general grounds, respecting the whole heathen world, because the circumstances of the heathen nations are as different from one another, as their names. It must be maintained concerning each singly, with the authority of facts relating to the individual case in question. No one will say that, because a nation is heathen, it is for that cause alone incapable of becoming Christian. This would, it is true, be a fundamental objection, but it would also be a sweeping contradiction of unquestionable history. And it is only in their name, and in the general corrupting consequences of false religion, that Pagan nations resemble one another; so that, as I have said, the same incapacity for adopting our faith, cannot be affirmed on any general principles concerning all.

Now I am as firmly persuaded as any man can be, that a most attentive consideration of circumstances is to be had in this matter, and that there may be circumstances of an unbelieving people, which preclude for the time any reasonable hope of introducing Christianity among them, and therefore ought to prevent reasonable men, from lavishing in the attempt resources and labour for which profitable occupation is always to be found. As far as I can see, to send a Christian mission to Turkey or to China, in the present state of those countries, would be a perfectly desperate undertaking, and therefore a blameable one, for 'it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful,' and it is not faithfulness in a steward to squander his trust. I am moreover well persuaded, that inattention to this so palpable rule of prudence and duty has had grievous and lasting ill effects on the cause of diffusing our religion. Attempts have been made, in such direct op-

position to circumstances, and with such presumptuous neglect of prudence in the devising, and skill in the use of means, that it was quite impossible that they should not fail. They have failed at great cost, leaving behind them no benefit except as they serve for beacons against a similar rashness in future. They have left another consequence of a different character. They have left on many good minds an impression that the general object is chimerical, instead of merely, that the occasions and means had been ill selected.

On the other hand, my friends, we must not expect too much. Of course we will not say that we must see a nation already Christian, before we will attempt to christianize it. Those whom we would *convert* to the faith, must of necessity be no better than *unbelievers* in it; and among the unbelieving nations circumstanced the most favourably possible for the attempt, we must expect to find tenacious error and obstinate sin, strong repulsion of the mind and alienation of the heart from truth. In the view of so great an object, we must consent to act, and act vigorously, on reasons to hope for success, which fall far short of certainty. Faith,—and cheerful faith,—must be the principle of such action. As soon as certainty appears that the object which we contemplate will be attained, the work is done, and we may spare our labour. The favourable circumstances, which from the necessity of the case must content and encourage us, for they are the best to be had before conversion,—are, an opportunity to gain a hearing;—some degree of interest, if it can be found in the subject we would propose, enough to secure it a consideration;—and some capacity to understand and weigh an argument. Even much less than this may be sufficient to encourage to such labours. In great enterprises, as in private concerns, when opportunities are not to be found, there is sometimes such a thing as making them. The Moravians found the polar savages in one of the lowest of recorded human conditions. They sat themselves down patiently to exhibit to them in their own example the benefits of social and Christian life, and thus inspire first a prepossession favourable to their faith; and now they have their reward. Nor is the great moral depravity of a heathen nation,—without consideration of other circumstances,—by any



means to be taken as conclusive against the feasibility of attempts to christianize it. By far the most gratifying recent fruit of missionary labour is seen in a group of islands of the Pacific ocean, where the moral abandonment that existed thirty years ago would pass for incredible, if it were not authenticated beyond all question.

But when we say, that we will not lend ourselves to this attempt because the force of circumstances is against it, we imply that when we shall see the force of circumstances in action the other way, we are ready to embrace the opportunity; and this is as it should be. Now it has come to pass at this day, that in the capital of a very populous, rich, and enlightened idolatrous nation, great attention has been drawn to the leading questions of religion. A large and rapidly increasing number of persons of learning, rank and wealth have renounced idolatry; are using the great influence of their standing to bring it into discredit among their countrymen; and are meanwhile inquiring for some better foundation for themselves. Some such,—it is of natives that I speak,—have associated themselves in an organized body with a few European Christians, actually to maintain the institutions of Christianity. They have made most liberal contributions, which they are ready to increase, and taken other steps towards the erection of a house of Christian worship, and the permanent support of a Christian teacher; and the amount of their interest in the enterprize may be partly estimated from the fact, that they,—Hindoos by birth and education,—being but few in number, have solicited from the multitude of those Christians who may be supposed to sympathize with them in Europe and America together, a sum three times as great as has been given by three individuals of themselves alone, and only equal to what they pledge themselves, with the aid of some European friends, to give, for the establishment of permanent Christian instruction to them and their countrymen. One of these individuals, the most remarkable man who has appeared in his nation for centuries, and probably to be ranked in the intellectual world below no man of this day, continues to recommend the religion of Christ by his powerful writings, and to hold it up conspicuously to view, from the eminence where his extraordinary qualities have placed

him. He supports at his own charge, a college, and an elementary school, for youths of his own nation, for both of which he desires that systematick Christian instruction may be provided, and maintains a printing press from which have issued various publications by himself and others, having the same object. And the enterprize is favoured by a perfect liberty to preach and publish ; a state of general information; a spirit of excited enquiry; and the countenance of persons of the highest rank, in a country where rank has an influence altogether unparalleled elsewhere.

V. These facts, I cannot but confess, strike my mind forcibly as being of a very remarkable character. I have adduced them,—and I might add to them,—with a view to substantiate one exception to the idea that there is no preparation for the reception of Christianity into heathen countries, in the existing state of society and sentiment. In the case, to which we have adverted, I cannot help thinking that that there is a very peculiar degree of preparation. If such an invitation from leading members of a heathen community, with the attending circumstances, is not proof of such preparation, what proof of preparation do we ever look to see? These facts have an equal bearing on a fifth objection, which is made, that the doctrines and worship of Unitarian Christianity are too simple to meet a favourable reception among idolaters; that those forms of Christianity which deal more in mystery and pomp would be more to their taste, and far more likely to impress them. Now the truth is, that, in the case to which I have referred, not a few of these forms had been faithfully tried before, and they never came to stand on nearly so advantageous ground, as the simple form objected to has already taken, almost by its own unaided force. The zealous bodies of English dissenters who have been many years strenuously labouring in the capital of Bengal, have never numbered among their coadjutors a single native of wealth or learning, while no less than three such are members of the small committee which directs the operations I have spoken of, to say nothing of several others of whose co-operation they have substantial pledges. And such persons testify with one voice,—in speech and in writing,—together and apart,—that what is called orthodox Christianity appears to them liable to

similar objections to those urged against their own native theology; and that it is only in the simpler and more generous form of Christian faith opposed to this, that they perceive sufficient advantages over their native system, to recommend a change. It is Unitarian Christianity they say,—it could have been no other,—which has thus won their affections, and engaged their support. While thousands are thus liberally offered by enlightened natives for the ministration of a purer doctrine, but one individual of all the missionaries, of the different sects called orthodox, derives a very small and precarious part of his support, from his native hearers; and of the hearers of such missionaries we are further assured, that there are those who leave their instructors with a decided bias to Unitarian opinions, imbibed, contrary to the wishes of their teachers, from the Christian scriptures which have been put into their hands.

As to the case under our notice, these facts seem to me decisive of the question, whether primitive Christianity with all its elevation and simplicity, is able to put forth a greater converting power, than any form of its corruptions, with all their varieties of unintelligibleness and show. And it does appear to me, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, that this might most reasonably have been anticipated. As long as men are willing to confine their religious faith to the region of the imagination, the superstitions of the idolatry in which they were educated are as suitable to satisfy them as any; and these have the further advantage of being recommended by habit, by convenience, by the veneration of their earlier years,—in short, by all the forces with which long cherished opinion grapples itself to the mind. When they change their faith, it is altogether most likely to be for one of a different character. The ground of imagination and mystery has been preoccupied. They will change their faith because they see good reasons; and they will change it for one, the proof of which admits of being strictly made out, for one capable of being explained, and so of being maintained and enforced by argument. They will covet little a pompous *ceremonial* in the new faith to which their attention is turned; for they have already tried the effects of this, and experienced them to be unsatisfactory. It will be

much more the wants of the heart, for which they will demand provision; and these will be best met by that religion, which from its simplicity and distinctness they can best understand and realize and feel. For such reasons, it does seem to me, that,—wedded as idolaters are to pomp, as long as they adhere to their idolatry,—the moment they begin to think of renouncing it, their taste is for something better; that,—occupied as they are with erratick fancies, as long as an implicit superstitious belief possesses them,—as soon as *that* is shaken, they have a relish for truth,—for something solid, that may be grasped, and handled, and leaned upon. And therefore I am persuaded that the intelligible doctrine and simple worship of Unitarian Christians are, on account of these characteristic the best fitted and most likely, other things being equal, to make their way into heathen countries. I have spoken of idolaters only. As to Mohammedan and Jew, we all of us know that with them the doctrine of a plural Godhead has always been the impassable stumbling block.

VI. Lastly; objections are raised, having reference to the expenditure, demanded by the enterprize of which we speak.

1. As far as these are founded on past misapplications, and consequent *waste*, of the resources of charity on such objects, they were virtually answered when we considered, under the fourth head, those indications of probable success, which ought to be regarded as encouragements to effort. The fact that large sums have been squandered in ill-conceived, ill-timed, and ill-digested operations, goes not a step towards proving that what admits of being used with different advantages, in a different application, and so to a different result, would not be well bestowed. Without some opening in providence, disclosing a prospect of success, expenditure should not be made, if to never so large extent it had been advantageously made before; and *with* such encouragement, it is not to be withholden, merely because, without the favour of advantageous circumstances, it had before been liberally given to no purpose. Different opportunities recommend themselves on different grounds, and because the unpromising has prospered ill, it does not follow that the promising is not to be tried.

2. Again, as to *exceptionable means*, to which recourse has in

some cases been had to provide resources destined to this use. No doubt they have tended to create a strong feeling unfavourable to such objects as it appeared to be their design to advance. Yet it seems sufficient,—since it is reasons, not dislikes or prejudices with which we are now concerned,—to dismiss this point with merely saying, that the fault complained of, greater or less, is the fault, not of the cause, but of some of its injudicious advocates; and much as the latter may deserve blame, the former does not deserve rejection, on account of it. I regard, with as much disapprobation as others, methods which are said to have been employed to extort the charity of the weak and the poor. I would perhaps resist the use of them for any object, with as much determination as another. But because the ignorant and needy ought not to be importuned, I am sure it does not follow, that the judicious and affluent ought not to volunteer; nor is the object a particle the more or less deserving of patronage, on account of the better or worse expedients, which have been resorted to, for the advancement of others similar.

3. But it is said, that it will be time to extend our benevolence to other countries, when we see no more misery to provide for, no more vice to reclaim, nor unbelief to convince, at home; and that meanwhile our means and labours are best appropriated *here*. Let me ask; did the apostles' example authorize such reasoning, when they obeyed their Master's word to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature? Did they wait to see every Jew in Syria become a pious Christian and a happy man, before they crossed its border, the heralds of the glad tidings of great joy to the world? Did they not rather think, that more and speedier good was to be done by going forth to gather into the fold the ready minds of all nations, than by waiting until they should have subdued all the averse and reluctant minds of one? And if we delay to offer the benefits of our religion to our distant fellow-men, who need them, until benevolence has no longer a work left undone nearer to our homes, have we the slightest reason to hope, that the last trumpet's sound will not find that work still unengaged in? Far be it from me to argue that the relations of society, according to their less or greater intimacy, do not involve peculiar claims for

kind regard, and generous exertion. Our reason establishes such claims, and our religion distinctly recognizes them. Our home, our circle of kindred and friendship, our neighbourhood, and our country, according to the order in which I have named them, demand our services under a more imperative obligation than does the world at large. But,—rightful preference as some departments of benevolence claim above others,—still it is true, that when any department becomes exclusive, it becomes at the same time narrow. It cannot shut out the rest, without contracting also its own limits. Benevolence is thorough and energetic in proportion,—not as it is partial; as some seem to apprehend,—but on the contrary in proportion as it is comprehensive. It becomes intense in expanding, not in shrinking. He is likely to be most deeply acquainted with it in either of its exercises and forms, who is most extensively acquainted with it in them all. The theory of our religion is that the wider and more constant and active the exercise our kind affections have, the more capacious and powerful will they be; that the more various the forms in which misery has moved us, the greater will be our sensibility to feel, and our readiness to aid it in each;—that it is the nature of the spirit of charity, in short, to be always enlarged and invigorated by the enlargement of its sphere of action. With this, experience of what falls beneath our observation has accorded. Those classes of Christians who have tasked themselves to the largest expenditure for foreign objects have in fact, within the same period, not abridged, but greatly multiplied their charities at home. And so far from distressing those whom providence has cast here upon our bounty, in consequence of any expenditure which we should ever see cause to make on distant enterprises of benevolence, I doubt not we should then find for the former, even more feeling and more means,—if occasion should arise for more,—than now.

But I am less solicitous about the success of this latter argument,—though I am persuaded it is sound,—because it does not immediately relate, like the rest, to the merits of the object,—which it is my chief aim to establish; and because, whenever a satisfaction should be created about the rest, no demur need be apprehended on account of any want

of means. In this community, the difficulty under which a proposed charitable object labours, is much more likely to be a want of conviction of the rightful claims of that object, than either a want of the resources, or of the disposition to further it, when its claims have been sufficiently made to appear. Reminded of your temporal blessings, you share them liberally with those whom you perceive to be less blessed.\* Sensible too to your religious privileges, I well know that, when in any case a similar claim for the communication of these should be discerned, you would with proportionate liberality be prompt to minister these, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. For myself I needs must say, that I am struck and moved by an occurrence so unparalleled in recent times, as the demand of a number of leading men, from the very bosom of polytheism, for Christian instruction for themselves and their countrymen, towards the attainment of which they have themselves already devoted of their substance with a most generous bounty. But it is a favourable judgment that I am now asking, and not a contribution; and it is an object of a more general nature than pertains to this event alone, that I have had in view in speaking 'as to wise men' these my thoughts. First and chiefly it is desirable that weight may be ascribed to them, to guard against the possibility that any should be brought, in the heat of discussion, to imply or to imagine that our religion is not a great blessing, and would not, wherever it might be bestowed, be a truly and immensely great gift. We shall perhaps judge of some of these arguments differently, my friends, but I trust we shall all feelingly agree that those religious wants of our fellow men, which in our seasons of thankfulness we cannot fail to contrast with our own precious religious distinctions, are entitled to our sympathy, even while we may not see in the same light, their appeals to us for relief. Whatever, in the exercise of an independent judgment, duty in the case in question may seem to recommend to us severally to do or to forbear, we shall not cease all alike to wish and pray with sincerity, that every where man our brother may become enlightened and happy, Christian and good; that the name of God may be every where hallowed and his universal kingdom come.

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\* This Sermon was preached on a day of annual Thanksgiving.

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# SERMON

OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH

OF

JOHN GORHAM, M. D.

AND PREACHED AT

THE CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON,

APRIL 9th, 1829.

*Orham*  
BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.  
Pastor of said Church.

BOSTON,—S. G. GOODRICH AND CO.

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1829.



*To the family and relatives of the late Dr GORHAM,  
this Sermon, printed at their request, is inscribed, as a faint  
expression of the sympathy of their sincere friend,*

**THE AUTHOR.**

# S E R M O N.

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MATTHEW xxv. 20, 21.

*And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents ; behold, I have gained beside them five talents more. His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant ; thou hast been faithful over a few things ; I will make thee ruler over many things ; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*

OUR religion represents men as servants of God ;—his servants, not only for obedience, but for use ; not only to do his pleasure, but to promote his purposes ;—his agents, commissioned and endowed to execute, in their several spheres, the designs of his benevolence. Fitted for their respective tasks, they are left to accomplish these. “ After a long time,”—long enough for their fidelity or their negligence to have been proved,—their Lord “ cometh and reckoneth with them ;” and then, in an application of the principles of a strictly equitable retribution, all are rewarded according to their works.

This is doubtless a most animating view of the character of that service, in which we are enlisted.

We are not slaves merely, to win a master's favor by an inactive and fruitless submission to his will ; but we are called on to be workers together with God in the great business of making his creatures happy. He bids us take part with himself, according to the humble measure of our powers, in furthering his gracious plans. He has his universe to bless ; and what he demands of his children in proof of their submission is, that, each in his own place and degree, they will engage in that work on which he is himself always intent, and, in this office, partake that happiness of doing good which makes the bliss of his own unrivalled nature.

But, not to dwell on this elevating consideration, the passage, which furnishes our text, combines some of the leading views, presented by our religion, concerning the adjustments of that retribution, for the dispensing of which the Lord cometh and reckoneth with his servants. Let them be the subject of our present meditations.

In the first place, we are reminded here, what is the ground of an approving judgment. It is, a service proportioned to our opportunities and powers. He to whom five talents had been committed, was applauded, because with them he had gained other five. He to whom two, was in like manner applauded, because his acquisitions too had been in proportion to the amount of his trust. And the burier of the one talent was cast into outer darkness, not because he had not converted it to the

accumulation of two or five, but because the one, which would have been the fruit of its diligent use, was wanting.—The reason why our Lord selects the servant charged with one talent only, to be the example of sinful unprofitableness, is not that he would represent those, to whom stations the least eminent and responsible are appointed, as the most likely to slight their obligations. This would neither accord with other declarations of his, nor be justified by men's experience, which continually shows us that the temptations of eminence are great, and that christian excellence flourishes widely in the shades of life. But his object was to insist, that, limited as may be our trust, to execute that trust well is as imperatively a duty as if it were of any magnitude. We may not say that we have but one talent, and it is so little that it is no matter, if we bury it. To use that one well, is our prescribed task; and that we have well used it, will be our acceptable plea. "She hath done what she could," were once our Lord's words of gracious commendation. Here is our rule. What we can do, we must aim to do. What we can do, is what will be demanded from us. Is this much? it is still our duty. Is it little? it is still ample foundation for our hope.

Secondly; we have here a reference to the nature of the reward which requites a faithful service. The christian heaven is no epicurean heaven of leisure and uselessness. Will you tell a diligent servant of God, that if he will struggle on, a little

longer, in labors for the divine glory and human good, a state of recompense awaits him, where he shall no more for ever have any thing to do? He finds no encouragement in that promise. He owns no attractiveness in such a state. He has reaped his best happiness hitherto in strenuous endeavors for objects, with which God is pleased, and men are benefited. In the busy devotion of his powers to such objects, he is sensible of having become best acquainted with whatever is excellent and happy in the nature which he bears. He has partially enjoyed what most his mind craves. He seems to himself to have then recovered most of the divine image, when he has been most an active instrument of the divine bounty; and rest from useful service he would regard as no better than exile from his proper joy. The Gospel is just, and full in its promises, to a noble sentiment which its whole influence goes to inspire. "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."—And what is that joy? The place of "ruler over many things" is the worthy reward of having been "faithful over a few." A higher responsibility,—a larger power to bless,—a sphere for more diffusive action,—these, and not dispensation from further labor, are the reward of past labor well performed. The recompense of christian service corresponds to the dignity of that service. He who has well done God's will has loved to do it; and from

what he has worthily loved, his transition into the world of retribution is not to banish him.—Reflecting on the constant benevolent agency of God, we seem forbidden to doubt that a benevolent agency of some kind makes everywhere part of the happiness of all good beings; nor, considering how much of his enjoyment the Christian actually finds here in the very presence and exercise of those benevolent sentiments, which it is the aim of his religion to form in him, can we perceive any room for a question whether,—on whatever different principles, from those of human society, the society of beings more advanced than men may be arranged,—opportunity will still be found for generous action, and so, at the same time, for those sentiments of devotion to which such action gives birth, and vigor, and expression. Everywhere in God's universe he has creatures to make happy; and they are doubly blessed in being empowered to bless each other. And the faithful servant, who has acquitted himself well of the tasks of usefulness in this inferior world of probation, and had success, and gained experience and confidence, and learned to love the work,—his promotion to be “ruler over many things,” his transfer to a sphere less circumscribed of similar action, is at once justified by the competency he has acquired for more responsible service, and by the reasonableness of assigning to him, for a reward, a larger extent of that trust, and a larger

communication of that power, in the exercise of which he has found his best enjoyments.

Once more; in the language of this parable we seem to discern indications that the trusts committed to the approved servants of God, are still, in another state, to bear a proportion to their capacity for executing such trusts. "One star," in the constellation of the blest, "differeth from another star in glory," and in shedding a more beneficent effulgence. In the distribution of probationary trusts, to each man was given "according to his several ability," and we can suppose no reason, why the principle, which guided these several allotments of service which was intended for trial, should be without application to service designed for reward. God's work, in both instances alike, is to be done; and so far there seems to be, in both, the same place for the rule which is expressly alleged in one, that in proportion as each servant, appointed to that work, is more or less equal to it, on him more or less is to be laid. We read, indeed, in the parallel passage of St Luke's Gospel, that to him who had thriven best with his Lord's deposit, authority over ten cities was committed, and to his less successful fellow-labourer, authority over five. And though it may be said, that this was in acknowledgment not of more ability equally well used, but of a better use of the same, still there seems little presumption in believing that everywhere, under the wise and

equitable administration of God, a difference in the amount of trust reposed, will attend upon the difference of power to sustain it; so that the comparatively feeble may not be overburdened, nor any part of the service, which the strong might render, be lost for want of full employment. It is true, that it follows from this view, that,—as in this world, so in the world to come,—of minds equally controlled by the christian spirit, those which in their original structure were the more richly endowed by Providence, being commissioned to more extensive service, are also made participant of higher measures of happiness. But here does not seem to me to be presented any difficulty which needs much to disturb us. Why God should select this or that mind to be more or less largely endowed in its original constitution, is one of those “secret things” which belong to him. But of course this must be, if that inequality of minds, which gives occasion to much of their useful action on one another, is to exist. And that this, as a feature of human condition at large, is deserving of all our gratitude,—is a vast common good,—no one can profess to doubt. Our differences from one another constitute no small part of our importance one to another. It is the varieties, in kind and degree, of the powers of different men, which place them in a condition of unavoidable mutual dependence in endlessly diversified respects, and should bind them together in



an indissoluble chain of love. An arrangement for some to encourage and some to follow, some to inspire confidence and some to repose it, some to take the harder tasks and others the less,—that is, a difference of efficiency, and thence of responsibility, while the spirit is the same,—seems essential, as far as our bounded vision goes, to the best condition of every society, as much as of the human. They to whom, in such a disposition, the less distinguished power and posts are assigned, have still cause to be devoutly grateful for their increased share of the common well-being thus increased, and for the abundant satisfactions to which the right use of such powers as they have gives birth. And they, on the other hand, on whom the capacity for higher duties imposes a loftier obligation, and a more arduous and tempted service, need to be animated to their task by knowing that if, with all its extent and difficulty, accomplished well, a special richness of reward awaits it.

Such are some of the considerations which may have been invested with a peculiar interest in many minds, by that mysterious providence which has lately called this community to a deep, and, I may almost say, a universal mourning. Was not that, my brethren, an uncommon scene which has lately been presented to your view? When a crowd followed all that was mortal of one who but now was moving among them, to this house where con-

solation was to be sought of God, it was with demonstrations such that every one could see that here was no pageant. There was an unambiguous expression of the almost uncontrollable grief that agitated the bosoms of many, and of the true sorrow that weighed down the hearts of all. Here was no party, pursuing its own ends by a hollow magnifying of the merits of a departed champion. Here was not even a community repeating over the dead their sense of the worth to them, in life, of one whom they had elevated with their joint trust of public office. But men, without understanding with one another, came from their own separate houses to render the last testimonies of respect to their own friend; and the whole thronged assembly was an assembly of true mourners. Happy the community, where God employs such servants! Happy the community, which is so just to their worth!

I cannot help repeating the remark, how peculiar is the instance, in which not the pride, not the passions, not even the just interests of a community, as such, but their good feelings, their sense of excellence, and love of it, are found, without concert, to have bound them in so strong a sympathy. And, honorable as the tribute is to them who have paid, as well as to him who was the object of it, the good feeling of the community has in no degree outstripped its justice. I have not the heart to praise the eminently able

and good man departed. Let others more fully speak his eulogy, who have cause to feel it less. In early life, he was marked for one of those noble youth, (may such long continue to be our joy and pride!) who were resolved to make their own fair fame and rising fortunes the fruit of their own toils; who were intent on winning esteem by the good method of deserving it; and on securing their happiness by making sure to be pure and useful. As he advanced, a confidence which came with all its burden of blessings to him, because he felt that it had been his aim not so much to have as to merit it, waited on and cheered his way. In the services of that walk of life, which, in important respects, provides richer satisfactions than any other for a generous spirit, his prompt, and strong, and sagacious mind was possessing opportunities to perform all its work, and "gather all its fame," and his benevolent heart was enjoying full measures of its congenial happiness. He seemed to be doing nothing here but good; and though we are now tempted to wish, that he could have consented to do it with less indifference to his own safety, the spirit of self-devotion to worthy objects is too good a thing ever to be complained of, even though it should sometimes be manifested at such melancholy cost. "Honor a physician," says the wise son of Sirach, "honor a physician with the honor due unto him, for the Lord hath provided him;—with such doth he heal men, and take away their pains.

My son, let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament, as if thou hadst suffered great harm thyself; and then cover his body according to the custom, and neglect not his burial." Such affectionate honor had *he* in full measure, while he lived; such mournful honors, when departed. Many, many tears have fallen down over the dead;—many have begun to lament, as if they had suffered great harm themselves.

I fathom the sorrows of numerous hearts, when the thought comes to me, that I and mine may not now look, in our extremity, for the presence of that tried friendship, and the alleviations of that consummate skill. Other enlightened and practised skill will still succor; other friendly cheerfulness sustain. But the countenance, in which we have been wont to read such grateful assurances of safety, is changed; the mind, on whose ready energy, and kind solicitude, and rich resources it has been our happy habit to place such reposing reliance, that mind is sent away. And, thinking of the griefs which spring so full at so many disconnected sources, none can wonder that, collected, they should swell, as we have seen, into a deep and impetuous stream.

He is taken away, in the full bloom of his honors and usefulness;—taken at the time when, we are tempted to say, he could least of all be spared; when God, whom, as we trust, with a true principle of love and duty he was serving, seemed to have much

for him to do; when the community, of which as a good and enlightened citizen, he was a stay as well as ornament, was giving him all his ambition desired, acknowledging what a serviceable friend it possessed in one whom the praise, which was all he heard, had done nothing to inflate, and the success, which was almost all he had experienced, had done nothing to make confident or remiss. He is gone from us. He is missed in the chambers of opulence, whither he carried that comfort which money cannot buy. The tenants of many a wretched abode are asking for him,—no longer to rise up and call him blessed, as heretofore when he has come to them a minister of other bounties besides the excellent alleviations of his art. The agency of his benevolence, and the example of his virtues, are no longer to profit us but in memory. He is gone from us;—and we call it a mystery. But we have no right to call any thing wholly a mystery, to which the revelations of Christianity relate. A good and faithful servant, we trust, is gone to be reckoned with by his Lord;—to have his imperfections forgiven, and his good service recompensed. We lament, that that service is no longer to be expended for us. But we are confident that such a mind has not ceased from all its labors. We are persuaded that God, who trained it here, has other, has greater and happier tasks for it elsewhere. It is transferred, we encourage ourselves, to employments of useful service as much superior to those

which made its happiness here, as the rule over ten cities was a higher trust than that faithful management of the single talent, by which it was won. It is gone where it can serve God and other beings more effectually, and in a wider service to them, find more enjoyment for itself.

And, though we may well be sensible to the privation we sustain in its removal, we could not be justified in saying, that, looking even no further than this, the providence was incapable of vindication. A great lesson, which needs to be taught to all men, is that of the insecurity of life ; and it needs to be taught by striking examples, for those of another character are too familiar to impress us. If there were a description of men so excellent and useful, that, on account of their usefulness, they were never taken away in their full vigor, there would then be one hurtful exception to the now universal rule, that “in the midst of life we are in death ;”—hurtful to others, who would flatter themselves that they had the same ground of security, when in truth it was not so ;—hurtful to themselves, for their self-watchfulness would thus be deprived of one of its main supports, and they would be greatly exposed to abandon the very character which made their privilege. We may be assured that God values so highly the good influence of all good men, as to dispose the lot of all for the best. If, for some, he lengthens out their years of usefulness, it is, that men may have the full protracted benefit of

their agency and their example. If others, in the midst of their days, are summoned to other scenes of duty, it is still not without a benevolent design. And when we consider, how,—in consequence of the very excellence which we are so pained to lose from among ourselves,—how solemn an impression has now been made upon thousands of minds,—how strongly this community has now felt itself admonished to be grateful to Providence, for the privilege of having the wise and good among them,—how vividly the worth of such qualities as made their possessor prized, has been revealed to many, being declared by the public voice, with such melancholy emphasis,—would it seem less than presumption to affirm, that, with all the usefulness promised in the continuance of such a life, divine providence may not have had higher purposes yet to serve, through the sanctifying influences extensively spread in its premature termination?

Justified by the strong expression of the public sense of the worth of a faithful servant, called away, I have thus deviated, my friends, from the practice of this place, in distinctly inviting you to dwell upon his memory. God grant that a lesson, so dearly gained, be not of transient use to any of us! I attempt not here consolations for the great grief of hearts lacerated by the so awfully sudden rupture of closely binding ties. It is much to suffer such bereavement;—it is much too, to have such a memory to cherish, and have a right to enshrine it

in the heart, as its own peculiar treasure. Our earnest prayers ascend to the widow's God, for rich communications of that peace which he is able to impart. The orphaned children are of that parentage, which the Psalmist said he never saw forsaken; and we doubt not that, seeking to render the due and the best honor to the memory of the departed, by walking in that path in which he is not spared to lead them, a kind providence will fulfil for them the pledge of favor which it gave, in committing them, for their earliest years, to such a care. May the "Friend that cleaveth closer than a brother," be nigh, with all consolations of his spirit, to them who mourn the broken bond of a true fraternal friendship! Let all of us, my hearers, who honored the departed, resolve to testify our sense of his worth, by walking stedfastly in his steps, as far as we saw them to be steps of usefulness and duty. And let those of us who loved him, cherish, for our solace, and our excitement, the hope that our friendship may not now have been dissolved for ever.

There is a strong and a salutary power in that hope, and I would fain believe, that the scriptures in no way discourage us from indulging it, on the ground that any, whom we lament, appear fitted for a higher sphere in bliss, than can be the object of our humble expectations. Between the righteous and the wicked, I know that "there is a great gulf fixed," and we must expect to be banished from the



intercourse of the good servants of God hereafter, if, here, we have formed nothing of their character. But I no where see it asserted, nor do I find any cause to believe, that, in a future world, friends who have walked in the same paths of wisdom here, are to be separated, because they have not attained all to an equal eminence. The analogy of this life would lead me to hope for a different adjustment. Here, while they who are essentially animated by the same spirit, are naturally thrown into each other's society, it is not they, who have attained a precisely equal eminence, who are found associated together. But the more advanced find a benevolent pleasure in exciting and helping them who are aiming at attainments like their own, and the less so, find a grateful pleasure in being objects of such regard and aid ; their happiness, meantime, not being equalized by a condition, which,—in some respects the same to both,—links them together in combinations of mutual service, but continuing to be proportioned, in each, to the spiritual progress which each has made, and the greatness of the services he renders. Is there not satisfaction in thinking, that something corresponding to this may exist in the happy society of the future world ; —that the good friends, in whose spirit we may hope, in some inferior degree, to have participated, may be made there, as here, in some way, our associates, benefactors, and guides ; they still animating us by the communications and the exam-

ple of their goodness, and we requiting them most acceptably, by a right use of these for our own advantage?

But I forbear from meditations, too adventurous, perhaps, though every heart can say, how grateful. Be it enough for our encouragement and joy, that the purity, and devotion, and love, which here make the genuine, though imperfect happiness of the "good and faithful servants" of God, are to make their growing happiness for ever; and that such eternal life assuredly awaits all who, "by patient continuance in well-doing," look for the appropriate "glory, honor, and immortality" of a spiritual nature.



## NOTE.

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DR. GORHAM was of a family which has been settled in the Old Colony from an early period of its history.

We find a grant of land in Plymouth, made to Raph Goarame, in 1637. A list of those able to bear arms in the colony in 1643, contains the names of John Grome, and John Gorame. It is probable that they were father and son,\* and that they were son and grand-son of Ralph. It does not appear that either had a brother, and all of the name in this state are believed to be descendants of John Gorham the younger. In 1643, he married Desire, a daughter of John Howland, who died in 1672, in his eighty-first year, the latest survivor in Plymouth of those who landed from the Mayflower, in 1620. After this marriage, he lived successively in Marshfield; where, in 1648, he was "propounded to take up his freedom;" in Yarmouth, from which place he was a deputy, in 1653, to a Convention at Plymouth, called "to treat and conclude with the magistrates about military affairs;" and in Barnstable, where the marriage and birth of members of his family are recorded in 1661. In 1673, he was lieutenant of a company of a hundred men, intended for an expedition against the Dutch in New York. In 1675, he commanded one of the two companies of the Plymouth contingent, in the memorable expedition against the Narragansetts, under Gov. Winalow, and died in that service.

From which of his five sons,† the subject of the notice in this sermon

\* The name is variously spelt in the ancient records, Grome, Groome, Gorame, Goarame, and Gorum. The identity is ascertained in such records as that, for instance, of the marriage of John, the younger, whose name is written Groome in the text, and Gorum in the margin.

† James, John, Joseph, Jabez, (who probably died young, since his name does not appear in the settlement of the estate, in 1684,) and Shubael. John, the second, was in 1689 deputy from Barnstable in the Colony Court, and in 1690 commanded a company in the unfortunate expedition against Canada, under his fellow-townsmen, John Walley.

One of the name commanded a regiment in the expedition under Sir William Pepperell, against Cape Breton, in 1745.

was descended, I am not informed. Nathaniel Gorham of Yarmouth, grandson, or, more probably, son of one of them, married Dorcas Coffin of Nantucket, and was father of Nathaniel, who removed to Charlestown, and married Mary Soley. They had three sons, Nathaniel, who was born in 1738, and having filled various important public offices, among others, that of President of Congress, under the Confederation, died in his native town, in 1796; John (A. B. 1759,) who died early, and Stephen, a highly respectable merchant of this city, who died here in 1826, at the age of 79.

John, son of Stephen Gorham, last mentioned, and of his wife Mary, a daughter of the late Phillips White, Esq.\* was born in Boston, Feb. 24, 1783. After passing part of his childhood with his family, in Exeter, N. H. he was fitted by Master Hunt, at the Latin School of this town, for the University, where he was graduated a Bachelor of Arts, in 1801. He studied medicine three years with the late Dr John Warren, and two in London, Edinburgh, and Paris. Returning in the year 1806, he engaged in the practice of his profession in Boston. In 1809, he was appointed Adjunct Professor of Chemistry in the University, and on the resignation of the late Dr Dexter, as Erving Professor, in 1816, succeeded him in that chair, which the claims of his increased medical practice compelled him to relinquish, two years ago. On the 23d day of March last, he was attacked with the disease, (a pleurisy,) of which he died on the 27th.

It is the nature of that art in which Dr Gorham obtained such eminence, not to leave permanent results of the talent which it employs; and the engagements of his active life allowed him little liberty to provide more lasting memorials of his mind. He found time, however, to prepare an extensive introductory treatise on Chemistry, of which he published the first volume, in octavo, in 1819, and the second in the following year, under the title of *Elements of Chemical Science*. Though professing to be only a compilation, it was in great part newly composed. It is written in a plain, clear, methodical manner, and must be considered as an accurate and judicious exposition of the state of the science at the time of its publication. I do not know that he printed anything else in a separate form, except his *Address*, when inaugurated in the Erving Professorship; a lively and elegant sketch of the revolutions in chemical science, from the time of the first approximations to a theory, under the alchemists, to that of the brilliant hypothesis of Lavoisier, with some notice of the more recent observations, which had already brought that hypothesis into discredit, and of the contributions made to the science by Davy, Gay Lussac, Haüy, Dalton, and others. After his return from Europe, he was a member of the Society for conducting the *Monthly Anthology*, and was subsequently a frequent contributor to the *New England Medical Journal*, of which he was one of the original projectors, and for some time editor.

\*Of Southampton, N. H. and afterwards of Haverhill.

Dr Gorham had much estimation as a teacher of his profession, and was resorted to by numerous pupils. He was one of the most agreeable and satisfactory lecturers to whom, in this part of the country, we have ever listened ;—easy, familiar, methodical, fluent, exact, manifesting a perfect command of his subject, and with a facility and skill in experimenting, which always left a vivid recollection of the instructions which had been conveyed.

Some such notices as those above given, seemed proper to be added, as the Sermon, being printed, may fall into the hands of some persons, besides those for whom it was prepared. Speaking to such as had an equally strong and just sense of the character commemorated, I was not led into an analysis of the qualities which gave it a place, so very rarely attained, in the public confidence and esteem. Present circumstances, perhaps, for the benefit of the example, demand my more direct testimony, that virtues, of which the public saw most, were in harmony with others, less subject to their notice ; that their possessor was most exemplary in the intimate relations of life,—the kindest parent, husband, brother, and son ; and that, while all saw cause to be persuaded that christian principles were his guide, those whose opportunities were greatest, knew best that he had profound convictions of the truth and claims of the Christian revelation ; that he earnestly desired to have his life bear witness to its power ; and that he habitually felt the cheering influence of its hopes.



# THE LIBERAL PREACHER.

## SERMON II.

BY THE REV J. G. PALFREY, OF BOSTON.

### ON THE USE OF POISONED DRINKS.

ACTS xiii, 10. O FULL OF ALL SUBTILTY AND ALL MISCHIEF, THOU CHILD OF THE DEVIL, THOU ENEMY OF ALL RIGHTEOUSNESS, WILT THOU NOT CEASE TO PERVERT?

These words of rebuke, addressed by the apostle Paul, in the severity of outraged virtue, to the sorcerer of Cyprus, seem almost as if they had been designed to depict that most guileful and most malignant sorcerer, *intemperance*, which has drenched our unhappy country so deep in the cup of its abominations. It is a pest, 'full of all subtilty,' of all artifices, by which it wins the honest, and the generous, and the unsuspecting, and the happy, to its execrable sway. It is 'full of all mischief.' It does not release its poor dupe till it has ruined him, fame and fortune, health and peace, body and soul. It is, if any thing is, a 'child of the devil,' and the worst deeds of its father it will most dutifully and effectually do. It is the 'enemy of all righteousness.' It holds no truce with the temper of self-command, or of usefulness, or of spirituality. The drunkard and the christian are radically, and at all points, two different men.

The subject continues to excite, as it ought to excite, the special attention of the citizens of this community. In different shapes it ought in all places to be brought forward from time to time, and such different views exhibited as occur to different minds. My thoughts on the subject, such as they were, having already been given to the public at some length,

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1

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the observations, which I am now further to present upon it, may appear to have little unity, and no completeness of plan ; but if they add any thing to the amount of illustrations of an evil so enormous, some little good will not fail to have been done. I shall attempt to gather no flowers of rhetoric. The call is for no such provision. Nor shall I hesitate, as the prosecution of the subject may lead, to descend into the homeliest details, whether of the parlor or the nursery, the distillery or the grog-shop.

What are these distilled spirits, to any use of which,—except as medicine, and then under responsible professional oversight,—many profess to see cause for absolutely objecting ? They are liquids composed of alcohol and water, with the addition of a volatile oil of one or another kind, according as they are extracted, for instance, from rye or sugar-cane, from the grape, the juniper-berry, or some other fruit. This latter substance, whichever it be, that gives to each kind of distilled spirits its distinctive flavor and hue, makes but a very small part of the bulk of the compound ; and the alcohol, extracted from either, is the same substance, so that in its simple state, taken out of the combination, it cannot be ascertained by the sight or taste from which of them it was procured. The highest proof spirits yield a quantity of alcohol amounting to half their bulk, and the ingredients of the other half are, or ought to be, inoffensive. What then is this alcohol, which is the intoxicating principle in all ? It is one of the most active poisons,—I was about to say, in nature, but it is no natural production ; God never sent us such a scourge ;—it is one of the most active foes to human vitality which human art in its perverseness has found. It is not called poison, I know. But administer no very large quantity of it to one of the weaker domestic animals, or to a child, and a short time will have passed after the application has come to be made to the nerves of the stomach, before the subject of the experiment has ceased to live, has breathed its last. Poison is an unusual name for it ; but from the moment of its introduction we see the healthy system la-

boiling, with desperate vigor, to rid itself of its baleful presence, by the same instinctive self-preserving powers with which it rejects other foreign substances, hostile to its well-being. Received in sufficient quantity to excite the most violent repulsion, the nauseating sense of the digestive organ at once expels it with a convulsive impulse. If, however from less provocation, or from long use, the system so far tolerates it, you may see other actions going on, which show how impatient it is of the presence of its noxious guest. The odor of the tainted air which at each contraction the lungs eject, evinces that they are struggling to discharge it with all their energy. The reddened skin manifests how its pores are irritated while they strive to make way for the odious intruder to escape. The watery eye, with its clogged and angry vessels, shows how that most delicate mechanism, the capillary apparatus, is disturbed and wrenched. We do not call spirits poison. But I see a man with a countenance hideously bloated, and in hue fiery red or deadly pale. His pulse indicates a burning fever, or else the low state of typhous inflammation. He has no more the power of voluntary motion than if he were palsied. His swollen tongue refuses to articulate, or is helplessly protruded from his mouth. His deep and distressed breathing is like that of apoplexy. Will any one give me a definition of the action of poisons, which will explain to me that that man is not poisoned? Will any one make me understand that if he had drugged himself with arsenic or hemlock, he might have been poisoned, but that having only drugged himself with alcohol, he is not so? I see another, consumptive, or paralytic, or dropsical, with no appetite or no digestion, sober enough now perhaps, but along with one or more of these morbid affections, nervous or idiotic at the same time, and I learn that his habit has been to ply himself with the potent agent which has been named. And am I to say, that he is not dying by slow poison, if slow it were, merely because he found it on the inn-keeper's shelves,

and not on the apothecary's? Is that a philosophical, is it so much as a specious discrimination?

No, my friends, it is not rhetorically, but in the strictest soberness of truth, that we call that substance, *poison, venom*. It will not kill when taken in inconsiderable quantities, but neither will any other agent of the same class; and again, it has this tremendous characteristic among the most formidable of the tribe, that taking it in small quantities leads on, by an impulse as mighty as mysterious, to taking it in quantities fatally large. In pursuance of such a course of remark as was proposed, I have as yet undertaken no more than to glance at some of its mischievous physical effects. There is another of these, however, so exceedingly remarkable, that it ought not to be wholly omitted, especially as it seems to have been scarcely noticed among the popular treatises on the subject. It appears to be well ascertained that the habitual use of ardent spirits so alters the properties of the human muscle, as to render it highly inflammable; and there are authenticated instances in the books, of the bodies of such subjects being burned alive, to the very bones, by spontaneous combustion, as some have maintained, or if not so, by coming in contact with fire. What is more extraordinary still, most, or all of these instances have been of females.—Nor ought I to fail to remark, that, besides alcohol, which is looked for, other noxious ingredients are often detected by chemical analysis, in the compound which is drunk for distilled spirits. It is a proved fact that there are dealers in that article, who disguise its inferior quality by an adulteration, in which, among other things, use is made of turpentine, oil of vitriol, and a solution of lead.

Alcohol is presented in other articles of common consumption, in forms less condensed than that of ardent spirits; and the question occurs, What ground is to be taken in respect to them? Now I have no doubt, that, for an almost universal rule, a man, who from infancy to death, should drink nothing more stimulating than water, and adapt his other diet to this,

would, other things being equal, have better health, better spirits, and more intelligence ; that he would live a longer, more prosperous, and more useful life. But since the whole system of life is more or less artificial, and since, to some extent, the maxim, that we must take men as we find them, is, in this application, true, I must needs confess, on the other hand, that the growth of the vine seems to me one of the choicest blessings of providence to any country. In France and Italy, its chosen climates, intemperance is a vice almost unknown. The liquid which it yields is very gently exciting ; and it is used with moderation, because it does not urge to excess. With ourselves, among whom the vine does not grow, I should not hesitate to say, that, as an alternative, the general substitution of the wines for ardent spirits, would be an event the most desirable. I do not speak only of their comparative expensiveness, which, however, would tend strongly to restrict their consumption within moderate bounds. Nor is the difference, strictly speaking, of the proportion of alcohol, between them and distilled spirits, so great, as is, perhaps, commonly supposed. A quart of one of the stronger wines of Spain and Portugal is found to contain about a pint of proof spirit, or a half pint of alcohol ; but, whether it be, that, having only gone through the process of fermentation, the original material still retains part of its vegetable properties, so that it is disposed of by the digestive process, and enters harmlessly into the general circulation,—whether it be from this cause, or from some other not discovered, certain it is that alcohol exists in the vinous liquids in some chemical combination, which partly disarms it of its deleterious power, for it would be impossible to drink a pint of proof spirits, diluted or not, without much more serious consequences, than would attend the drinking, within the same time, of a quart of one of those wines. This, then, is one great difference. Another is, that the time it takes, and the uncomfortable bulk which must be introduced into the system, to produce the last stage of intoxication by means of the vinous liquids, are no trifling hindrance to that result ;

a result, on the contrary, facilitated by that concentrated form in which alcohol exists in ardent spirits ; a form, which, if I may use so plain an expression, admits of the needful quantity being so expeditiously packed. But the great and distinctive difference remains. It is, that, account for the fact as we may, as a fact it is indisputable, that, while the wines may and do intoxicate, and a man may ruin himself by their excessive use, they do not possess, like the distilled spirits, the power to create a morbid appetite for themselves, which scarcely any moral energy is equal to control ; they do not, like distilled spirits, effect that change in the drunkard's constitution, which makes it all but impossible for him to refrain.

But, perhaps, we have much less to do with this question about the wines, than we imagine. Perhaps what we call by that name deserve to be suspected by us on other grounds than what are commonly alone adduced. I apprehend, my friends, that we see very little wine in this country. I suppose, that, for example, the vineyards which yield the Marsala grape, do not produce more wine in a year, than is drunk under that name, in a year, in our single State. I should not be surprised to be assured that they do not produce more than is drunk in our metropolis alone. I suppose that what can with any great propriety be called wine, is scarcely to be met with, except occasionally at the tables of the opulent ; and we, whose regard for our purse, to speak of nothing better, must needs prevent us from putting ourselves to very free expense for such a luxury, I conceive need, out of regard to our health, to say no more, to refrain from meddling very freely with what goes by the name of wine. By a *common* wine, or a *table* wine, if that rather be the name by which the inferior quality is disguised, I understand to be meant nothing else than a corrupt imitation of wine. I suppose it to be undeniable that very soon after a wine becomes common among us, it becomes corrupt and unwholesome. Many of us can remember when the wine of Lisbon was in extensive use. At first it was understood to come pure, and the demand for it naturally increased.

To meet this increased demand came next an adulterated mixture, and then a most vicious counterfeit. When, at last, every one who touched it, though it were sparingly, found that he received the admonition of a head ache, or a fever, it was abandoned, and the wine of Vidonia was adopted in its place, and went through the same popularity, the same process of treatment, and the same dismissal. The wines of Sicily next reached us, and for the like reason, are about to be pronounced, by an unanimous voice, intolerable. It is scarcely half a score of years since the name of the wine of Champagne was known to our dealers, and already, it is said, that a very insignificant proportion of what is sold and consumed under that name among us, ever heaved on a wave of the Atlantic. How, where, and by whom these substances are manufactured, by which trusting customers are poisoned, of course no one can tell, any more than where counterfeit money is struck, for secrecy is the life of the traffic. What are the ingredients, however, the faithful test of chemical analysis with indubitable certainty discloses. Along with some inconsiderable basis of the liquid which is to give its name to the compound whole, and a copious addition of alcohol and water, they are such, according to the particular case, as a decoction of the oak wood to give astringency ; elder flowers, and log wood to heighten the color ; alum, gypsum, and potash, to clarify ; and sugar of lead, one of the most active poisons, to cover acidity. These particulars I do not state as being disclosed by any investigations made among ourselves. I am speaking of practices which recent developments show to exist, on a large scale, in the parent country. As long ago as Mr Addison's time, there was occasion for him to speak of ' a certain fraternity of chemical operators, who,' said he, ' by the power of magical drugs and incantations, raise under the streets of London, the choicest products of the hills and vallies of France. They can turn a plantation of northern hedges into a vineyard. They can squeeze Bourdeaux out of the sloe, and draw Champagne from an apple.' Since that time, not

only has the trade of the *wine brewers*, as they are called, been largely extended in that metropolis, so as to employ a vast capital, but, in the wide division of labor which it occasions, it is affirmed that distinct branches of the English commerce relate to the supply of one or another of the materials which that business requires.

Remarks essentially similar are to be made respecting other stimulating liquids in common use. Containing the intoxicating essence in a still less concentrated form than the wines, they are so far less likely to be abused by excess. The fermented juice of the apple, being prepared under the consumer's eye, may by him be known to be free from hurtful mixture, though, to say nothing of cases of its intemperate use, by very many constitutions, at least, it is found so to conduce to a feverish habit of body, as to be quite unsuitable to be a common refreshment, or a restorative under fatigue. The same security may be felt as to other fermented liquors of domestic manufacture ; that is, in the particular of their being what they profess to be ; though it is said, with what truth I leave to the better informed judgement of professional men, that the imperfect fermentation, to which they are apt to be subjected, is a circumstance making it advisable that they should be cautiously resorted to, except by persons in the firmest health. The malt liquors, from the public establishments, to be pure should contain no other admixture than that of water, malt and hops. From the circumstance which has been named, that is, the diluted state in which they present the inebriating principle, it is not a compendious process to abuse them to purposes of the worst excess, though perhaps the plethoric intemperance which they may produce, is, on the whole, the most odious aspect which the habit wears. They too have been the subject of atrocious practices in the parent country, where they make, or made, the common drink of the people at large. Wormwood, quassia, and aloes, as cheaper materials, have been found to be used, instead of hops, to give the bitter taste ; and, so far, apart from the pecuniary

fraud, no great harm would be done. But, in addition to such ingredients, use has been ascertained to be made of capsicum and grains of paradise, two highly acrid substances; of alum, sulphuric acid, cherry-laurel, opium, hen-bane, and copperas. From these and other drugs, beer, so called, is even made without any portion of hops or malt whatever, and the persons who supply them are known as a class under the name of *brewers' chemists*. In a popular English treatise on brewing, it is affirmed that malt, to produce intoxication, must be used in such large quantities as would very much diminish, if not exclude, the brewer's profit. Accordingly, the writer, who was an experienced manufacturer, allows that the intoxicating qualities of porter are to be ascribed to the various drugs intermixed with it, and declares that, without them, he could never produce the liquor, of that quality which was most in esteem. One of these pernicious substitutes is furnished by the poisonous plant denominated in botany the *Cocculus Indicus*, the same, I suppose, from which is prepared the maddening drug called *bangue*, used in the place of opium by the lower order of Turks. The growing extent of the demand for this, as a succedaneum in beer, may be estimated from the fact, that, while it is not known to be put to any other extensive use in England, its price was nearly quadrupled in that country within a few years. They who perforce must look to such sources of supply for a substance of daily consumption, may well have their serious misgivings. And developements like these may reasonably make us suspicious and sparing of the imported liquors of this kind, whose history we have not means to trace. That, to such an extent, the like substances are prepared among ourselves under the direction of persons whose character is a pledge of fair dealing, is a security which we have no small cause to value. We have only further to remember that the strongly narcotic quality of the hops, which properly belong to them, seems to dictate a forbearing use of them to be made by whoever, for God's glo-



ry, and his own and his brethren's good, desires to live with his mind and soul as wide as possible awake.

We have thus considered that alcohol, in the simplest form of its use as an article of diet, is a concentrated and active poison, much the more to be dreaded, because, each time that we resort to it, it addresses to us a more and more urgent invitation to return; an invitation which at length comes so near to compulsory, that there is scarcely in human nature a power, by any stubbornness it can summon, to resist the importunity. This most appalling character uncontradicted experience shows it to possess.—Again; we have seen that, in other forms of combination, the same principle, in addition to its not being offered in the same destructive quantity, is masked and weakened, and, however we may account for the fact, certainly does not possess that almost irresistibly seductive power, which, in the form first spoken of, renders it so awfully perilous a thing to be tasted, touched, or handled; but still that, in these, considerations such as have been suggested, connected with and apart from the rules of what is commonly called temperance, enforce the obligation of a strictly self-watchful, a scrupulous, christian caution in its use.

We are now prepared to take some notice of the supposed therapeutic and prophylactic properties of this substance; and in a few disconnected hints relating to this topic, I shall be pardoned for entering into a kind of detail, which, except under a constraining sense of duty, I might esteem inappropriate to this place. I have no intention to invade the physician's office. My medical friend is, for the time being, the director of my conscience in regard to physical applications. It is his business to study these things, and to know what morbid action must be introduced to counteract another morbid action existing. He is a responsible adviser; I have undertaken to trust him; I will do him no injustice; I will obey. I will take arsenic, or hellebore, or brandy, if he directs, and ask no questions. But I will no more take the one than I will the other,

without his prescription, nor will I take the one any more than the other, in any different form, or quantity, or time, than he, on his responsibility, commands. Is not this reasonable? If brandy or other distilled spirit is nothing but diluted poison, will any one undertake to prove that it is not reasonable? Now, my friend, do you know, when, without such direction or leave, you are taking bitters, or some other tincture or elixir, to give yourself an appetite, or meet some other equally cogent demand of health, that you are then taking nothing but medicated, in other words, flavored, rum? and do you expect to do this often, and run no risk of smarting for it? Do you know, that, when you take it, as is commonly done, on an empty stomach, you expose the tender coats of that organ to its harshest attack, and do yourself two or three times as much mischief with it, as you would with the same quantity in a different state of the system? Do you know, fond mother, that when you quiet your child with those warming internal applications, which have been, if they are not, such favorites in the nursery, you quiet it with the repose of stupefaction? and are you so confident as to imagine, that its tastes, which you have so depraved in its swathing clothes, will demand no hurtful indulgence when it has grown to be a peevish stripling? Do you expect to increase the nutriment which nature provides for your nursling, by drinking porter yourself, or distilled spirits in any form, and are you sure that you can do this without any hurtful consequences to the object of your care? You would not, while fulfilling that office, take mercury, for you know you could not fail immediately to communicate it, with all its active properties, to your child's system. No more ought you, nor can you with impunity, take any other potent drug into your own. I suppose that I speak the unanimous sense of the enlightened part of the profession, when I say, that in proportion as any thing besides nourishing food increases the quantity of that aliment, it equally deteriorates its quality, and makes it insalubrious; and it is well known that children,

who, under these practices of the mother, have been afflicted with disorders of the digestive organs, and even with convulsions, have been immediately relieved by being transferred to a strictly temperate nurse. Such facts ought to be known, they ought to be even thus published, for it is grievous when that all but angelic sentiment, the sense of maternal duty, is perverted to expose to the double danger of a drunkard's habits, the mother and the child. There are other practices of the nursery, which ill become that place,—the very place where the patriarch's visioned ladder should rest its foot, the ladder which led to heaven. What more lovely,—tell me, any parent,—tell me, any feeling child of Adam,—what more beautiful than sleeping infancy?—the smoothly closed eye with its long lashes, and its lids laced by the fine threads of healthy blood, matched by nothing but heaven's own clear azure,—the lightly heaving breast that no passionate dream yet convulses,—the cheek shaming the very rose-leaf which the gentle breath from the parting of the perfumed lips would scarcely shake? Who, that has watched this, has not felt his heart to be full with the influences of that fairest emblem, remaining among the Maker's visible works, of the glories of primeval innocence? I have witnessed another cradled sleep, and that not in the hovels only of this metropolis, but in its palaces,—a sleep heavy, and pale, and disturbed, and stertorous; and I saw that the poor infant whom I gazed on was drowsy, because he was drunk. He was sleepy with paragoric, and paragoric is opium and rum; a composition which Samson could not swallow much of, unscathed. What are you thinking of, miserable nurse,—what are you doing, mad mother,—when you put that 'child of the devil,' intoxicating drink, under the unstained snow of an infant's bosom? Well, indeed, my friends, might we ask the question many times, 'Did this man sin, or his parents,' that he came on the stage of mature life, a mature sot?

There is one other topic, on which I ought not to omit to say a few words. The evils of abandoned intemperance have been,

of late, largely and vigorously depicted ; but, except as to its powerful tendency to induce abandoned and shameless habits, less has been said of a partial intemperance, which in many, very many unsuspected men, there is no doubt, is the cause of a great abridgement of enjoyment and usefulness, and the occasion of much positive evil. Many a person, from this cause,—many a person, whom a whisper of reproach has not assailed, has at no time, through the whole period of his active life, had the complete command of either his physical, intellectual, or moral energies. Many such a person carries abroad with him through life the discomfort, and the fretfulness, and the dulness of judgment, and the changeableness and weakness of will, which properly belong nowhere, but to a sick chamber. Among chronic diseases of those who are able to appear in public, and attend to their affairs, a much larger proportion, than is generally supposed, is probably to be traced to this source, in persons who are neither understood by their associates, nor by themselves, to lead other than temperate lives. I will allude, however, only to the single class of nervous complaints. These extremely afflicting disorders are no doubt capable of being induced in a variety of other ways, and the mere circumstance of their existence should by no means subject the patient to suspicion. But it is probably impossible to use, day by day, any considerable quantity of stimulating drink, without soon coming under their scourge, unless there is an antidote in extraordinary resources of the native constitution, or in very active habits of life ; so that, to the more retired sex especially, the habit, when kept within the strictest bounds of decency, is in this respect full of peril. I think I could name the instances,—I never will name them, but I think I might, with a degree of certainty,—where all is going wrong in a family, from a cause to which the evil will probably never be ascribed, even in the confidence of domestic expostulation. The female head of a household is complaining, and desponding, and procrastinating ; self-indulgent, perhaps petulant. Why is

it? She was not always thus. Once she was prudent, and gentle, and happy; every duty had its time, and every thing its place; domestic demands did not come unprovided for; all arrangements of domestic economy went on well, under the management of an interested, cheerful, prompt, inventive mind. Perhaps the cause is broken health; perhaps, the pressure of growing cares, which a feeble character was not able to sustain; but perhaps it has been the daily draught of guarded indulgence, which, not corrected in its effects, as, in a degree, it would have been in the stirring action of manly life, has raised the spirits for the moment to an unnatural height, to drive them back soon to an unnatural depression, and by long continued appliances has at length shattered that most delicate organization, the nervous system, and so at once broken the stamina of the physical constitution, and enfeebled the functions of the mind, setting it on edge, at the same time, with a sickly irritability. In men the same effect is manifested, though, from their less susceptible natures and more active employments, in them a more rash imprudence must be its cause. Many are there, without doubt, of unimpeached sobriety, whose business is suffering for want of the clear head, whose families are suffering for want of the even temper, whose personal comfort is suffering for want of the light spirits, which habits of a scrupulous self-command would immediately restore. Many are the embarrassed fortunes which such habits would immediately mend, though he who is most concerned may never have had an idea where lies the evil and the cure. Many are the homes, ignorant what it is that disturbs them, to which the restoration of such habits would bring back, as by a charm, the peace and love which once they knew. Many are the minds wanting nothing but this to renovate the vigor which seems, they know not how, to have departed from them, like the Nazarite's might when his locks were shorn. Many are the souls, for whom this is the specific to revive an apparently expiring spirituality. We cannot, my hearers, irritate that nice-

ly elaborated part of our curiously and wonderfully fashioned frame; the seat of sensation, without doing ourselves soon real harm, even though it should not be harm so great that our neighbors may detect it. We may be very prudent, as we think,—and really so, to the point of avoiding all direct external symptoms of imprudence,—and yet we may find, when we come to look seriously within, that the measured indulgence has been dealing rudely with our mental and moral integrity ; that our understandings have been losing their wonted clearness, quiet, and alacrity ; that we have been becoming timid, distrustful, capricious, unenterprising, undecided, subject to be moved with unbecoming susceptibility to merriment or to tears,—in short, that we have been, as different familiar expressions state it, unnerved and unmanned ; and yet more, that we have come to have far less frequent and less happy visitings of that spirit which makes it a joy for man to live, the spirit in which he truly and warmly loves God, and his duty, and his fellow men.

The object of introducing into our community more temperate habits, is an object, my friends, attended with all the encouragement which ought to be looked for by christian men ; for they are authorized to affirm that it needs to be accomplished, that it ought to be accomplished, and that it may be, by the blessing of God. That it needs to be accomplished, no one will ask to have proved, who but gives a thought to the many tens of thousands of persons in our unhappy country, who are making themselves odious, and their families wretched, and cursing all who come within the reach of their example, while they are going down to the infamy of a premature self-made grave, and the torments of a self-prepared hell. That it ought to be accomplished, no one will be disposed to question, who reflects that christian benevolence was intended to be, in the world, the antagonist of human woe. That it may be accomplished, no one will dispute, who understands that there is an over-ruling providence, which has smiles and

help for the tasks of public spirit and religious love. Nay, that it may be accomplished, the experiment has already yielded inspiring proof. I know that there may be presumption in interpreting the ways of providence ; but I should say, that, if ever there has been a cause since the publication and reformation of our religion, which providence manifestly favored, it is this. Distilleries finding no purchasers, or shut up ; the importation of the deleterious material greatly abridged ; licenses voluntarily abandoned, or discontinued because not worth renewing ; tavern-keepers idle, strange contrast ! while their old customers are busy ; quiet streets in our cities by night ; sober elections and military trainings in our villages ; decent, unpolluted funerals, thank heaven ! at last ; firesides, where sobriety and affection preside together ; and all around us, along with these, order, competency, mutual confidence and self-respect restored, where they had begun to be strangers,—children better clothed, better fed, better taught, and better treated,—the mind improved, the character recovered, and the heart lifted to God,—these are signs of the success of what may be called without scruple, the great moral effort of the time. Rarely has there been any thing like it. Scarcely does a day pass, that a person attentive to the subject might not hear of something encouraging and new.\* Already even does what has been done in this reform attract the notice of foreign nations, and inspire them with respect for the American character, which can begin to rise from such a crushing pressure with such an elastic power.

Blessed they who may see such fruits of the divine smiles on their well meant endeavors ! Blest of them who have been recovered by their instrumentality from the prospect of the alms-

\*Had I been desired a few days since to name the class of my own fellow-citizens whose habits of the kind might be considered the most inveterate, and their exposures the most peculiar, I should perhaps have ventured to refer to the drivers of our hackney carriages, of burden and of pleasure ; but I have just now been assured that a large proportion of these have ceased to taste distilled spirits, and are not in the habit of using any stimulating drink whatever, as a customary article of diet or refreshment ; and the many more bright and ruddy countenances which I see than formerly, are so many confirmations of the intelligence.

house and the gaol, the loathsome body and the maddened mind, the remorseful death-bed, the unwept grave, and the untold woes beyond it, to sound health and a sound intellect, to a fair name and a fair standing, to the love of brethren, and the hope of God's approving love! Blest of the wedded sufferers, whose scalding tears they have dried; the infant innocents whom they have contributed to save from being outcasts; the hoary parental heads which they have aided to keep from going down to the grave in sorrow! Blest of the community whom they have helped to protect in all its interests,—from the crimes, and the costliness, and the example, and the disgrace, and the vote of an abandoned citizen! The generations yet to come shall rise up in their turn and call them blessed, for averting from them the inheritance of the profligacy and the disorder, the God-tempting sins, the misrule, and at last the iron despotism, which a corrupted age is sure to leave, an accumulating legacy of ills, to those which will come after it. But, my friends, the monster is not yet quelled. The pestilence has not ceased to walk in its congenial darkness. The wasting destruction does not yet shrink, like other ill-boding spirits, from the light of noon-day. And there is no dispensation from these efforts in the measure of success, with which they have hitherto been followed by a gracious providence,—there is only encouragement and command to make more of such. Our responsibility is not discharged; it is doubled. While the untried experiment was thought by many to be chimerical, and none could say, on his veracity, that it was not so, then was the time, if ever, that we might reasonably have witholden our hand from this work. Now that it has been proved, undertaken in the proper spirit, to be one of the most feasible things, now is not the time for christians to refrain. While we had no sensible demonstration that God meant the work for the execution of well-intentioned men, we might better venture to resist the dictates of sound sense, and the impulse of christian faith, and let it alone. But the smile of providence for the past,—can we but know



of providence for the past,—can we but know that we have it,—is the commission of providence for the future. We are not now to sit down, and see what providence means to do. Providence is not pleased so to work in such things, under our unconcerned inspection. Each one of us must put his shoulder to this wheel, or the mire may yet hold or clog it. The true God, like the false god in the fable, will help those who try to help themselves and one another. Each one of us, old and young, rich and poor, obscure or noted, connected or lonely, each one of us is called on to contribute to this work his testimony, his example, and his prayers, the fruits of his mind, and, in such measure and method as he may, the benefit of his active enterprise. The parent and the child, the husband and the wife, the brother and the sister, the neighbor and the friend, for their own and for one another's sake, have much to do in carrying it on. The patriot must help it for his country's safety and honor; the philanthropist for mankind's good; the disciple of Jesus for love of his redeemer. And, when this is done, the work will be done; for christian faith, and charity, and hope, have an unestimated power; and the favor of Almighty God is scarcely waiting for men to be true to themselves and one another, to crown with full a triumph nobler cause than this.

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# S E R M O N

PREACHED IN THE

CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE,

BOSTON, AUGUST 1, 1830,

THE LORD'S DAY AFTER THE DECEASE OF THE

HONOURABLE ISAAC PARKER,

Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.

Pastor of the Church in Brattle Square.



BOSTON :

NATHAN HALE AND GRAY & BOWEN.

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1830.



## SERMON.

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EXODUS xviii. 21, 22.

Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, and place such over them,—and let them judge the people.

Magistracy is one of the greatest trusts committed to human integrity and wisdom. Under forms of government which have generally prevailed, men's imaginations, excited by a sense of its importance, are not satisfied without seeing it invested in an external array, significant of its exaltation above the common offices of life. It must wear the purple or the ermine. It must dwell in a palace, and move abroad attended by a crowd. Under our simpler institutions, we dispense with its livery and its parade; and possibly, to the vulgar view, its essential dignity is thereby made less imposing. The plain man, who meets his neighbours on an equal footing in the common scenes of life, dazzling them with no show, repelling them by no arrogance, may be forgotten by them to be the same, who, day and night, is holding steadily over them and theirs the shield of the sovereign power. But the wise do not need the "pomp and circumstance" of authority, to remind them that he, who is

worthily clothed with it, is an object for their reverence. They only see cause to revere him the more, that he is able to reconcile such simplicity of private manners with the prerogatives of such a lofty walk of duty, and that he is willing to lend himself to the anxious cares of office, without those inducements of luxury and rank, which are held out to rulers of less privileged communities as fair indemnity for renouncing the ease and liberty of a private station.

There is, perhaps, room for the further remark, that, as far as there exists a fit apprehension among us of the importance of the trust of magistracy, it is chiefly in favor of those whose sphere of office is in the administration of the central government. They act on a larger theatre, and are most conspicuously before the whole community. Assuredly we can scarcely entertain too grateful a sense of faithful services employed in adjusting well our relations to foreign states, or, by the establishment and application of wholesome laws, protecting and enriching the sources of our internal prosperity. But we should neither be wisely attentive to our own welfare, nor just to those on the honest action of whose minds we are most continually dependent, if we should degrade into any secondary estimation the men, whom, in the administration of our own commonwealth, we have called to watch over our lives, our property, our reputation,—in short, over all our interests of the most intimate concern.

This important trust of magistracy the text briefly instructs us who they are who should be appointed to

discharge. First; *thou shalt provide, out of all the people, able men.*

They whose province is the execution of the laws, for the most part act in a subordinate capacity. Their discretion is overruled by legislation and judicial sentence, and the ability, which they chiefly need, is that of calm, and, at the same time, steadfast resolution.—Legislators need to be able men. They have many interests to consider, and to reconcile, or, at least, balance and adjust. The rules which they approve are thenceforward to be no abstract and dormant propositions, but are to modify, from that moment, the relations of all the citizens in a community. What they determine to be right, thenceforward commands the resources of a community to carry it into effect. It is a power which reaches every where, and is no where to find resistance. They need to be able men, who shall discern and determine the action of such a power, so that every where its action may be salutary.—Judges may well be required to be able men. On the whole, there is no trust reposed by men in one another so august as theirs. By nothing human am I awed, so much as by a tribunal of justice. It is not the show of sedate, but decisive power; it is not that the will, which is there announced, is one which there is no opposing nor escaping; it is not that there are resolved the great issues of liberty and property, of life and death. But it is, that the will, which is there announced, approaches the nearest that human infirmity can approach, to being a perfectly righteous

will. It is, that the voice of law is the clear and solemn voice of pure reason arbitrating among the concerns of men. It is that here is in action the most complete apparatus, which the experience of ages has been able to construct, for the manifestation of naked truth ; that here is the closest application of the human mind to its discovery. "Of law," says Richard Hooker\*, in a passage not more brilliant with other beauties than with the leading one of truth, "of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage ; the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power ; both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet each with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy ;"\* and that understanding, which is an inspiration of the Almighty, is never in more admirable exercise, than when, aided by the mutually opposing views which other highly endowed and richly instructed minds propose and urge, and biassed itself to neither, raised by every possible security above the influence of favour or of fear, it moderates between them ; traces the fair form of truth by its own lights through every path they open ; separates the problem from its accidents, and the principle from erroneous applications which may have obscured it ; and ascertains the absolute rule of right, not only for the deter-

\* Ecclesiastical Polity, Book I. *ad fin.*

mination of the question now agitated, but for the permanent rule of future proceedings. He whose own resources are expected to be equal to such investigation,—whose own patient and clear-sighted moderation must hold the reins, when the most vigorous and fervid minds are in the full career of a mutually quickened excitement,—who, in concerns so complicated, must be looked to to commit no error, where no error could fail to be a wide mischief,—who should make his contribution, for future times, to the settled doctrines of social justice,—assuredly he needs to be provided out of all the people, not only from among able, but from among the most able men.

Secondly; thou shalt provide *men of truth* out of all the people, says our text, and place such over them.—We need to be sure that they whom we elevate to the trust of magistracy shall be men of truth, in the sense of being men of probity; men faithful to the truth, as far as it has disclosed itself to them; prompt and explicit to make it known, firm in adherence to it, and careful that, as far as depends on them, it shall fully do its office, in regulating concerns of others, to which it may have application. Publick provisions may remove from a publick officer many temptations to swerve from the path of integrity. But they cannot make him a man of integrity; and if he is capable of being seduced or intimidated into apostasy from uprightness and truth, he is only the more to be dreaded for possessing an ability, which may help him to disguise or defend his deviations.—He should be a



man of truth, in the sense of having that attachment to it, which shall lead him to seek it by diligent investigation. He should be impressed with that sense of the worth of truth, and of the strong necessity there is that what he announces for its dictates, should indeed be such, that he will not be satisfied to take up with first impressions, nor think any pains too great, by which truth, in its most unequivocal signatures, may be ascertained.—Once more, he must be a lover of truth, not only that his ability may not be perverted, but that we may be assured of his ability being of the highest character. Love of truth is not a moral quality alone. It deserves to be ranked among qualities which make up intellectual power. Nay, it may claim to be ranked highest among them; to be esteemed the first of talents. The capacity of discovering truth is the great attribute of human reason; and certainly nothing goes further towards the discovery of truth, than that state of inclination towards, and correspondence with it, which love of it involves; nor can any thing else do so much, to subject the other faculties to an effectual training to make them available to this end. Without a presiding love of truth, men may exhibit extraordinary powers to persuade, or illustrate, or beautify; but without this,—without this, I say, not attributed, but really existing,—the fame of an understanding of the first order was never permanently established by any man. Without this, no tangible contribution was ever made to the resources of the human mind, any more than to the well-being of human society.

Another qualification for the magistracy, which our text specifies, is a *detestation of covetousness*. We would have our magistrates hate covetousness, because we would be sure that their *love of truth*, that their integrity, is above temptation. Invested with such high powers, we might well tremble, if we should see them possessed by a sordid passion, the gratification of which might seduce them from the path of right. We would wish to have in their characters a pledge of something more than an incapacity of being swayed by any coarse form of bribery. We shall feel the more secure, if we witness in them no such covetousness of popular favour, as might seem like an ambition after higher prizes, which publick favour has to bestow,—for, betraying such a feeling, we might fear that they would systematically aim, or that they would be insensibly biassed, to make the office which they hold a stepping stone to the office which they desire, and thus that the popular clamour would be louder in their ear than the private citizen's claim for his rights. It will gratify us to see that they are not covetous of accumulation for the sake of luxury and state; for then we might apprehend that their sympathies would be hurtfully estranged from that humbler mass of society, above which they seemed desirous to exalt themselves; or, at least, that their minds might come to be occupied with objects merely trifling compared with their proper pursuits. And, on the other hand, we shall be little satisfied to witness in them the covetousness which stints and hoards, for we would

not have minds, which must embrace subjects so large, and lift themselves to speculations so lofty, belittled and dwarfed by a parsimonious spirit. It will add greatly to our confidence in them, if we may see that their assumption of office has been disinterested, and dictated by views to the publick good. It is a sad condition of a country, when office is desired chiefly for its emoluments. It is a deplorable and a fearful thing, when the majestic trust of ordering a community's concerns is converted into a job of private selfishness. We may prophecy in sack-cloth for a people capable of using their political privileges with a view to political preferment and its profits. In our country, and certainly not least in our commonwealth, we have been used, in past time, to other examples. We have been accustomed to see the most esteemed citizens under a sense of publick duty, assuming high office, at personal sacrifice ;—because, for the common safety, they would not see such momentous trusts committed to inferiour hands. God grant it be long before that noble race shall be seen to be extinct among us !

Once more ; it is said, thou shalt provide out of all the people *such as fear God*, and let them judge the people. The fear of God, witnessed to be a rooted principle in a magistrate's heart, gives us the only complete assurance of his fidelity. It assures us not only that he will not knowingly pervert his trust to ill uses, but that he will bend himself to all its duties with a scrupulously conscientious purpose. It satisfies us, that, religiously observant of the oath of God

which is upon him, we shall no more find him remiss or unprofitable, than we shall find him partial or oppressive ; that he will diligently seek for guidance at the best sources ; that he will give to his tasks the best application of his mind ; and that he will watch cautiously and humbly against exposures to error. In a religious community like this, we would have our magistrates fear God, because we would not have them without sympathy with ourselves on the most important of all subjects, and a subject the most intimately related to the well-being of all communities. They are conspicuous examples to the whole people whom they serve,—models, to no small extent, on which is to be formed the character of the rising generation ; and, in these respects, we would not lose the benefit of their being avowed friends to the church of Christ.

If it had been our purpose, my hearers, to compose a compendious description of the eminent citizen, who has just ceased from his labours in the midst of us, we could not have done better than to select the words in which our text enumerates the qualifications of a competent magistrate. The character, in which those whom I address have viewed him, was the completion of his labours in building up an enviable name. But, from first to last, his was a singularly exemplary course. In the contemplation of it all, it is safe to say, that he has left few, “either wiser or better behind.” The late Chief Justice Parker, the son of a merchant of this town, the straitened circumstances

of whose declining life threw a cloud over the early prospects of his family, was born in Boston, June 17th, 1768, and after going through the steps of his preparatory education at the publick Latin Grammar School, was admitted to the University, when fourteen years old. His cotemporaries, who, in every instance that I know,—and these are not a few, considering the distance of time,—have since maintained for him a warm personal friendship, represent his course at that institution to have been in a high degree honourable, in regard alike to deportment and acquisitions, to the evidence which he gave of uncommon talent, and the attachment which he universally inspired. Having been employed a short time as a teacher in the school where his early instruction had been received, and afterwards completed the preparatory study of the law under the direction of Judge Tudor of this place, he established himself for its practice in the town of Castine, in Maine, then a recent settlement; and, in twelve years after leaving college, was already representative in Congress of the district within which that settlement was included. During part of the administration of Mr. Adams, the elder, he was United States Marshal for the district of Maine, from which office he was displaced on the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency. Three years after this, at the age of thirty-six, having meanwhile removed to Portland, he was invited to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. This proposition he saw fit, for the time, to decline; but accepted

it when renewed two years after, just before the late Chief Justice Parsons was elevated to that office. It was in the same year, that he presided at a criminal trial in this place,\* involving questions of the most abstruse, delicate, and painful nature, and as fresh now in the memory of many of us as events of yesterday. On the death of Chief Justice Sewall in 1814, Judge Parker was placed at the head of the Court, of which he had now been eight years a member, and for sixteen years longer was permitted to preside over the administration of justice in our Commonwealth, having meanwhile also occupied the distinguished post of President of the Convention, called in 1820, to revise the State constitution. He died, as is well known, towards midnight of the last Lord's day, having been attacked, soon after waking the same morning, with an apoplexy, which from the first moment of its access, left to his distressed friends no hope, but that which refuses to expire except with extinguished life.

It would of course be only presumption in me, to undertake to speak of this great man in that character in which he is to be chiefly known to posterity. In the twenty-four years of his administration of our supreme judicature,—a longer period than any of his predecessors, under the constitution, has dispensed our laws from the highest tribunal,—he is said by those who are competent witnesses to the point, not only to have “won a name long to be remembered and treasured up

\* The trial of T. O. Selfridge, on an indictment for manslaughter.

with the proud memorials of the Commonwealth," but to have produced "a body of law, which would do honour to the brightest periods of English jurisprudence ;"\* and I observe that he is even pronounced in express terms, by one whose judgment is of the most approved currency, to have been "the most valuable publick servant, whom the judiciary department of this State has furnished."† It was well known that his mind was one of the most rapid, perspicacious, and clear, as well as the most candid. His candour ensured a patient attention from him to the exposition of all reasons,—but, with all this, there was no indecision in the man, except what belongs to that self-diffidence, and sense, at the same time, of the infinite worth of truth, which are perhaps always found united in the highest order of understandings. This led him, in his judicial capacity, to forbear to pronounce his judgments till he had weighed them carefully, and inspected them in all their bearings ; but then they were found to be based on reasons which none but a very great or a very bold man would undertake to impugn ; and in the reference of controversies to that joint tribunal which our institutions entrust with the inquisition into facts, the same distinctness of perception, and fairness of exposition were uniformly seen to be mingled. In making up his own decisions, or aiding those of others, most rarely did he seem to any to be carried

\* Jurisprudent, No. for July 10, 1830.

† The extract is from a notice in one of the newspapers of the day, bearing the initials of the Hon. John Lowell.

further than his reasons went. Ready, on unexpected emergencies, to draw from the stores of a patiently acquired learning, and reduce it to new applications, within the competency of none but a philosophical mind, nothing could exceed the laborious devotion with which he addressed himself to the solution of intricate questions continually coming under his cognizance. I had some acquaintance with his intellectual habits, and I have known something of the habits of others of the hardest working intellects of our neighbourhood ; and it has been all along my impression, that, with all its vivacity, I have never known the mind so patient of severe labour, nor the mind, which during the period of my observation, has been so heavily tasked. This was no hardship to him. It never broke his spirit. It never quelled his gayety. He toiled strenuously and anxiously, as a good man must, in such a place, evolving such perplexities under such a responsibility. But he was widely useful, and he was purely happy. He had his reward for all, in the spreading reputation of the decisions of the court where he presided ; the established and continually growing confidence of his fellow-citizens ; the sense of the value of his services, to which his modesty could not be wholly blind ; and the consciousness, worth all the rest, of the principle under which he rendered them.

It is chiefly in the exercise of the judicial function, that the late Chief Justice is to be remembered as a publick character. In the early part of his career, when trusts which he held furnished more occasion



for the assertion of his views on political questions which divided the community, the part which he took was the most uniform and decided ; and in later years, he was never backward to express, in all becoming ways, the adherence of his ripened judgment to the men and principles which had secured his youthful preference. But, along with this perfect decision and unreserve, there was always seen such a private friendliness, and superiority to the besetting mean-nesses of party strife, that it is exceedingly rare to find a man so open and strenuous in the serious contests of party, and, at the same time, commanding, to such an extent, in his private relations, the respect and good wishes of opponents.

The original frame of Judge Parker's mind was such, that a discerning person,—who had undertaken to predict its destiny, before it had bent to the stubborn toils of one of the gravest sciences,—while he would have given it all credit for acuteness, comprehension, and strength, would have been likely to pronounce that it was to gain its high eminence in some walk of elegant literature. For works of imagination his taste was never lost nor abated. They made his customary relaxation from severer studies ; and there are few of those, who dispense themselves from a less attractive application on account of their tasteful devotion to the literature of the day, but would find, that, even in this department, his well economized leisure had laid up richer stores than their own. His facility and taste in composition were equally uncommon. There are few

known to us, who could express their thoughts in so flowing, vivid, graceful and exact a style. The interests of our infant literature were always very near his heart. He was a vigilant and effective Trustee of Bowdoin College, and afterwards rendered still more important services, on frequent occasions, as an Overseer of our own, which conferred on him several years since the dignity of its highest degree. He was a Fellow of the American Academy, and two years President of the society of Phi Beta Kappa, preceding in that office the late President of the United States. His uncommon power to simplify the abstrusest knowledge, combined with his distinguished professional attainments, recommended him to the chair of law instruction in the University, which he continued to fill, till within a short period, with the reputation which always followed him.

Judge Parker was, from principle, sentiment, habit, and experience, a religious man. Religiously educated and always well inclined, his mature manly reason saw, in the proposed evidences of our faith, the satisfactory credentials of a divine communication, and his heart promptly bowed to its authority. Sixteen years ago, along with another eminent christian magistrate, the first Mayor of this city, and the now widowed partners of both, he connected himself with this church of our Lord; and you, my brethren, can attest with me, how "holily, and justly, and unblameably" he has walked among us "in all the commandments and ordinances;" what an interest this church

has always maintained in his affections ; what guidance we have been accustomed to find, as occasion offered, in his wisdom,—what impulse, at all times, in his example. For a long period an officer of our congregation, and always cheerfully taking a leading part on occasions of particular concern, he has never left us at a loss as to the feeling which he entertained for its prosperity. Becoming associated with you during the period of a ministry, whose premature termination was experienced by you to be one of the heaviest trials, the sentiment of personal friendship for him who was so early called away, seemed to strengthen his solicitude to watch over the trust bequeathed by one so prized and so lamented ; and along with those of others, who, blessed be God ! were animated by a kindred spirit, his endeavours have been prospered to preserve this religious community, through all subsequent events, in the “unity of the spirit,” the unbroken “bond of peace.”

The intelligent scriptural inquiries of this gifted mind had led to the adoption of views of christian doctrine, which on account of their connexion, more or less remote, with one cardinal point of true theology, are generally summed up under the denomination, Unitarian. But his reverential and hearty attachment to those views was just to itself, in being free from the slightest tinge of bigotry ; and his undisguised avowal of the sense he entertained of their vast worth, owed none of its emphasis to expressions of unkindness towards dissentients. And while he bore every where

to the faith he had espoused that best testimony of a christian conversation, a sober, righteous, and godly life,—while it was seen to have disciplined him to a chastened moderation in the trials of eminence, and an uncomplaining submission under those of painful bereavement,—while in all places, publick and private, he was known zealously to support the institutions of our religion, habitually to recognize its principles, and firmly to assert its claims, he did not permit his interest to be doubted in practicable enterprises for its extension abroad, and the cultivation of the fruits which it yields, nor fail of such participation in enterprises of this nature as the specifick duties of a crowded life allowed. He was for a long time an attentive officer of the Massachusetts Bible Society; and the Evangelical Missionary Society for assisting in the support of the ministry in feeble parishes, and the association which led the way in the now auspicious reformation of prevailing intemperate habits, have respectively enjoyed the benefits of his countenance and counsels as their presiding officer.

I am not speaking to strangers, that I should enlarge, as if imparting information; and, if I were, I should be sure of failing to convey any thing like an adequate impression of the excellence, on which our affectionate memory is dwelling. I might go on to speak of the mild and facile virtues of the private man, which brought the distinguished magistrate within the range of the sympathies, and gave him a place in the hearts of the humblest of the good; of his

aptness to friendship, and constancy in that relation ; of his free and cordial, and, at the same time, unostentatious hospitality ; of his disinterestedness, which in the form of publick spirit, had so marked an influence, on the one hand upon his fortunes, and, on the other, upon his usefulness and his fame ; of his thoughtful consideration for the exposed, whom official relations brought before him ; of the tenderness of his commiseration for the guilty, and the readiness of his generosity to the destitute ; of the expansiveness of his benevolent feelings ; of his delicate deference to the aged, and familiar kindness to the young ; of his equanimity and gentleness, smoothing all difficulties, and subduing all impatience in those who might be acting with him, and scarcely known to be ruffled amidst the unavoidable vexations incident to the transaction of intricate affairs ; of the exemplary graces of his domestick character ; of the frankness and expression of confidence in his deportment, putting all who approached him at their ease ; of that habitual gayety of spirit, and power of ready adaptation to others' feelings, which only an exhaustless fund of kind and cordial feeling could supply ; of the honest, equal, friendly personal regard which he inspired, rarely excited in either a strength or extensiveness approaching this, by the most respected and valued publick men. I might speak of these distinctions, and other such. I might speak of them long. But you would say, that what I had glanced at, I had described very unsatisfactorily, and that there was much which I had left wholly untold.

My brethren, it has pleased a wise and righteous God to remove from his place of earthly service one whom the community and his friends had very special cause to value. At a moment when all eyes were turned to him with a solicitude scarcely paralleled before, waiting for decisions of his mind of the most solemn nature, affecting human life and the publick safety, he is suddenly summoned himself to the award of a more awful tribunal. We could not justify ourselves in complaining of the visitation of that Being, who lent him to us for our good so long. I am struck with the view in which an event remarkably similar presented itself, years ago, to his own devout and discerning mind. In the reflections, which he has left on record, upon the death of Parsons, removed from the same station at the same age, he seems to be presenting to us those which he would have us weigh, under the affliction we are suffering from his own. "That such a man as this,"—he said from the bench on that occasion,—“that such a man as this, whose mind had never been at rest, and whose body had seldom been in exercise, should have lived to the age of sixty-three, is rather a matter of astonishment than that he should then have died. When the first painful sensations at so great a loss have subsided, it is not unsuitable to take consolation from the possible, if not probable consequences of a prolonged life. Beyond the age at which he had arrived, I do not know that an instance exists of an improvement of the faculties of the mind, but many present themselves of deplora-

ble decay, and humiliating debility. Should it not be considered a happy, rather than a lamentable event, to escape the infirmities, the disabilities, and perhaps the neglects, of a protracted old age,—to die in the zenith of reputation, in the strength of one's understanding?"

He had his wish. He died in the glorious zenith of his reputation, in the proud strength of his understanding. In the disposal of that event, which coming however late, must have been felt to have come too soon by those whom he should leave, the lot which his forecasting wisdom approved, was ordained to be his own. We cannot admit the idea, that for him the supposition which he made could in any event have been realized. We cannot entertain the thought, that he could have lived long enough to find the community he had so served ungrateful, the friends to whom he was so dear growing cold. But he has filled up honourably and happily the appointed measure of his days. For him there was no dull pause between his human usefulness and his heavenly rest. His sun has shone on us in unallayed lustre to the last; and that for us should be enough. We lament that we are to have no more of his services and his society. We should rather rejoice that we have had so much of them. We should rather rejoice that he lived so long, so usefully, so prosperously; in all respects so well. His work is done. His race has been benefited by him. His fame is secure. History has it. It can no longer, by any chance, be defiled or perilled. The last chapter of his earthly life has been written, and it

stands indelibly in golden characters. He was ripe, as we firmly trust, for a loftier, happier sphere of service ; and then,—to be rapt away in the undimmed brightness of his earthly honours,—are we reasonable and believing men, and shall we pity, or rather congratulate such a fortune ?

While the community is overspread with a universal sadness, there have bitter tears been wept in a home one day most happy, and the next, by an overwhelming visitation, most bereaved and desolate. To the Father of the fatherless and the God of the widow, and to those Christian consolations of which we trust they know the worth, we affectionately commend those sufferers. In the life with which providence so closely implicated theirs, they have enjoyed what they might most reasonably have prayed for. In the memory of that life they still enjoy what the heart may repose on,—with pride, shall I say ?—certainly with hearty satisfaction, and with christian gratitude. It is a great privilege to have been the objects of such attachment and such care. It is a signal favour of providence which permits even the remembrance,—when the present benefit has ceased,—of relations so intimate, sustained to a great and good mind. If there be a soothing power in sympathy,—and every benevolent heart owns that there is,—may not their consolations abound with their griefs, when all worthy men around them,—shall I not say, when the whole publick, honestly, deeply sympathizes ? Their heavenly Father himself is tenderly compassionate of their



distress. In the very depth of the unfathomed sorrow, he has held out to them an acceptable pledge of this, in the truly gracious disposition of his providence, which, in an interval of publick duties, that had just before withdrawn their friend from their presence, and were forthwith to remove him again beyond the reach of their immediate care, sent him home, as his fate impended, to their own dwelling, to be translated from their arms.\* May God be to them, to the end of their mortal pilgrimage, in the place of the friend whom he lent and has resumed ; and may all impressive lessons, of his life and of his death, be blessed to prepare them, the most concerned in both, for an indissoluble reunion with him among the spirits of just men made perfect !

On all of us, my hearers,—on all of this community,—who were benefited by the continuance of a life of such various usefulness, now devolves the obligation to turn its lamented termination to account. If we are not strangely unreflecting, such events cannot fail to do us good, in impressing on our convictions, how very much less every earthly thing else is, than a lofty, disinterested, and christian mind. It is not only the Bible which tells us this ; though if it were, that

\* The allusion here, as well as at the head of the 21st page, is to the absence of Judge Parker at Salem, in attendance at a special term of the Supreme Court for the trial of persons accused of the murder of Mr. White. On the 20th July the term was opened with an elaborate charge from him to the Grand Jury. On the 23d he returned home, and died on the 25th. The trials, which, from the amount of testimony, were expected to occupy several days, were to have proceeded on the 27th.

should be enough. The crowd of men, in the hot chase of all the world's vanities, pauses and stands still with its response, when it sees the services of such a mind withdrawn. Why is it that we have just beheld the community, where we dwell, first saddened with a solemn apprehension, and then with a universal mourning? It was that the life of a devoted and useful servant of God and man,—the enemy of no one, the ready friend of all,—was threatened and was closed. Let us learn from men's own earnest testimony,—unequivocally given, on occasions like this,—that usefulness is true honour; that, along with the principle which must sustain it, it is the one thing supremely desirable upon earth; that it is profitable for the life which now is, as well as for the life which is to come. Let that spirit be coveted and adopted for his own by each individual among us. We cannot all manifest it in a like station. Our places are different. But none of us fills a place which will not find it exercise, and if in very few of us it can be as efficient, in all it may be as sincere. The calamity, which we must labour to improve, finds opportunities to address its lesson with a special impressiveness. It calls on the ministers of the law, and on all public servants, to practise a like conscientiousness, and aim at like qualifications, to what they have been privileged to witness. It invites the young to propose to themselves to leave in the world a fame as fair, if it may not be as splendid. It urges the professed disciples of Christ to emulate,—and not stop short in

emulating,—the graces of him, whom they have resigned to the church invisible. To each it may have a distinct lesson ; but,—I repeat it,—it has one lesson for all. It is, that,—heedfully numbering our own days, and diligently applying our own hearts to wisdom,—if we may not bring an ability, we may, and should endeavour to bring a spirit such as this was, to render, in our generation, beneficial services to our fellow men, and acceptable services to our God.

With God is the residue of that same spirit, with which he was pleased to animate his now departed servant ; and he is able to repair the breach he has made, kindling the same spirit in other bosoms. When “the godly man ceaseth,” when “the faithful fail from among the children of men,” he does not cease from being his people’s help. May he, for his great goodness’ sake, watch over and help his people now, directing our honoured chief magistrate in the important decision so painfully devolved on him ; and may he be graciously pleased to raise up a succession of men of like spirit to his whom we lament, to be, in all time, ornaments to the church, pillars to the state, examples to the young, and blessings to society !

## NOTE.

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The kindness of an eminent Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, enables me to enrich this publication with the following sketch of Judge Parker's character as an advocate and lawyer.

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Mr. Chief Justice Parker brought with him to the Bench the reputation of an able, active and learned advocate. He had well earned that reputation by a course of long and honorable practice in the then District, now State of Maine. His talents (high as they were,) were not his only recommendation. He possessed what talents may adorn, but what talents, however shining they may be, never can supply, the *mens conscia recti*, an inflexible integrity, a deep-rooted and enlightened virtue. His private life was without reproach, his honour without stain, his political and civil career straightforward and steady. His manners were frank, modest, and winning, without ostentation and without affectation. Nature had given him a mild temperament, a quiet and moderated cheerfulness, an ingenuous countenance, and social kindness, which pleased without effort, and was itself easily pleased. But his most striking characteristic was sound sense, which though no science, is, in the affairs of human life, fairly worth all, and which had in him its usual accompaniments, discretion, patience, judgment. In his professional harangues he was persuasive and interesting; he had the earnestness of one, who felt the importance of fidelity to his client, and at the same time the sincerity of one, who felt the dignity of truth, and of that jurisprudence, whose servant he was, and whose precepts he was not at liberty to disown, and was incapable of betraying. In the sense sometimes affixed to the term, he did not possess eloquence, that is, he did not possess that vivid imagination, which delights in poetical imagery, or in rhetorical flourishes, in painting the passions or in exciting them into action. He was not addicted to a rich and gorgeous diction, or to colour his thoughts with the lights and shades, or the brilliant contrasts of a variegated style. But in a just sense, if we look to the means or the end, to his power of commanding attention, or his power of persuading, and convincing the understanding, he might be deemed truly eloquent. His reasonings were clear, forcible and exact; his language, chaste, pointed and select; his fluency of speech uncommon; his action animated; so

that in their actual union they gave a charm to his arguments, which won upon the ears and captivated the judgment of his audience.

Such was the reputation and character, which he brought to the Bench. He took his seat among distinguished men ; and he sustained himself as a worthy and equal associate. He did more, and accomplished what few men do accomplish ; he moved on with a continual increase of reputation even to the very hour of his death. He lived through times, happily now past, of peculiar delicacy and difficulty, in the midst of great political changes and excitements, when the tribunals of justice were scarcely free from the approaches of the spirit of discord, and the appeals of party were almost ready to silence the precepts of the Law. During this period, his firmness, moderation, patience, and candour secured to him the public confidence. When the office of Chief Justice became vacant by the lamented death of Mr. Chief Justice Sewall, all eyes were turned towards him as the successor. His appointment gave universal satisfaction. And yet, if he had died at that period, half of his real merits would have remained unknown. His ambition was now roused to new exertions by the responsibility of the station ; his mind assumed a new vigour ; his industry quickened into superior watchfulness ; and he expanded, so to say, to the full reach of his official duties. It was a critical moment in the progress of our jurisprudence. We wanted a cautious, but liberal mind, to aid the new growth of principles, to enlarge the old rules, to infuse a vital equity into the system as it was expanding before us. We wanted a mind to do in some good degree what Lord Mansfield had done in England, to breathe into our common law an energy suited to the wants, the commercial interests and the enterprise of the age. We wanted a mind, which, with sufficient knowledge of the old law, was yet not a slave to its forms ; which was bold enough to invigorate it with new principles, not from the desire of innovation, but the love of improvement. We wanted sobriety of judgment ; but at the same time a free spirit, which should move over the still depths of our Law, and animate the whole mass. Such a man was Mr. Chief Justice Parker. And whoever in this age, or in any future age, shall critically examine the decisions of the Supreme Court during the sixteen years, in which he presided over it, will readily acknowledge the truth of these remarks. There was in his mind an original, intrinsic equity, a clear perception of abstract right and justice, and of the best mode of adapting it to the exigences of the case. He felt, as Lord Ellenborough before him had felt, that the rules, not of evidence merely, but of all substantial law, must widen with the wants of society ; that they must have flexibility, as well as strength ; that they must accomplish the ends of justice, and not bury it beneath the pressure of their own weight. There is in this respect much, very much to admire, and, if it were possible in our reverence for the dead, to envy, in his judicial career. Few men have ever excelled him

in the readiness of grasping a cause, of developing its merits, or of searching out its defects. He may have had less juridical learning than some men; but no man more thoroughly mastered all that was before him, or expounded with more felicity the reasons even of technical doctrines. He had an almost intuitive perception of the real principle pervading a whole class of cases, and would thread it through all their mazes with marvellous ability. His written opinions are full of sagacity, and juridical acuteness, at the same time that they possess a singular simplicity and ease. He rarely fails to convince, even when he questions what seems justified by authority. His judicial style is a fine model. It is equally remarkable for propriety of language, order of arrangement, neat and striking turns of expression, and a lucid current of reasoning, which flows on to the conclusion with a silent but almost irresistible force. In his more studied efforts, in some of those great causes, in which the whole powers of the human intellect are tasked and measured, he was always found equal to the occasion. There are not a few of his opinions on some of these intricate subjects, which would bear a close rivalry with the best in Westminster Hall in our own times. There are some, which any Judge might be proud to number among those destined to secure his own immortality.

But we must stop. The time for mourning over such a loss cannot soon pass away. We have lost a great magistrate, and an excellent citizen. Vain is the voice of sorrow, and vainer still the voice of eulogy. They cannot recall the past. His place cannot be easily supplied; for it is difficult to combine so many valuable qualities in a single character. To sum him up in one sentence, we may say, that, as a Judge, he was eminent for sagacity, acuteness, wisdom, impartiality and dignity; as a citizen for public spirit, and elevated consistency of conduct; as a man for generosity, gentleness, and moral purity. His fame must rest where it is fit it should; upon the printed Reports of his own decisions. These will go down to future ages; and though perhaps beyond the circle of the profession they may not attract much general observation (for the misfortune of the profession is, that great Judges and great Lawyers cannot enjoy a wide-spread popular favour) they will yet be read and honored by the jurists of succeeding times with undiminished reverence, when those of us, who have known and loved him, shall be mingled with the dust, that now gathers round his remains. They will often recal to the classical reader the beautiful eulogy of Cicero upon a great character of antiquity, so applicable to him. *Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus; eaque erat cum summo ingenio, tum exercitationibus maximis consecutus; rem complectebatur memoriter, dividebat acute, nec prætermittebat fere quidquam, quod esset in causâ, aut ad confirmandum aut ad refellendum.*

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Judge Parker's family are understood to have been settled, at an early period, on Parker's Island, in Maine. His father, Daniel, a native of Charlestown, married Margaret Jarvis of this city, and had many children. Two of them, daughters, survive; one, mother of Lieut. Colonel Eustis, of the army; the other, unmarried.

Either before Judge Parker was matriculated at College, or soon after, his father, finding himself unable to meet the expenses of his education there, proposed to apprentice him to the druggist's business with the late Dr. Ephraim Eliot. This fact coming through Rev. Dr. Eliot to the knowledge of some opulent gentlemen, who were acquainted with the promise which he had exhibited at school, they interfered on the day of his entrance on his new occupation, and made arrangements for the original intention to be pursued. The circumstance deserves to be here recorded, as illustrative of the state of feeling, long ago, and still, existing in our leading citizens, in relation to our publick schools, and to the claims of those who there manifest the elements of a capacity to "do the state some service." Examples of this kind are so frequent, that it can scarcely be said to be in the course of things with us, for a boy, who, at these institutions, develops uncommon talent, to lose, for want of pecuniary resources, the advantages of the best education which the country affords. Instances, among which what is here noticed is undoubtedly a most prominent one, of the blessing of providence on such a judicious publick spirit, are what have aided hitherto to keep it alive. As long as it continues the honourable characteristic which it is, of the habits of our community, may it continue to be so rewarded! Such services as this publication commemorates, and the good sense and feeling which, in the way now mentioned, have been instrumental in causing them to be rendered, each do a noble part in the promotion of the common good, and are worthy to be called to mind together.

The class of 1786, of which the subject of this notice was a leading scholar, has been one of the most distinguished in the annals of the University. Among other names well known to the publick, we find those of Timothy Bigelow, many years Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, Alden Bradford, lately Secretary of the Commonwealth, Dr. Harris, late President of Columbia College, N. Y., John Lowell, and Champlin and Thompson, U. S. Senators for Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

While a Trustee of Bowdoin College, Judge Parker, in addition to the usual duties of the place, devoted much time to the sale of lands granted by the General Court for the endowment of that institution, and to other arrangements for the benefit of its finances; and his exertions at that period are understood to have been of the first importance, in laying a foundation for its now extended usefulness and reputation.

Between his sense of duty to his family and to the publick, his accept-

ance of the office of Judge, when in the receipt of a much larger income at the bar, was a subject of very anxious deliberation to him, and his friends represent him as never having appeared to them otherwise than habitually cheerful and happy, except at this juncture. It was a step much urged by Judges Sedgwick and Sewall, and by the leading jurists of Boston and of other parts of the State. Subsequently he had almost made up his mind, at one time, to resign the office, and there is a very interesting letter of Judge Parsons, dissuading him on the ground of the worth of his services to the science and the community, and the obligation upon men like him to postpone private considerations to the publick benefit. The writer knew the mind which he was addressing.

In the Massachusetts Convention of 1820, Judge Parker frequently took a part in debates in Committee of the Whole. His speeches, on the constitution of the University, of the Senate, and the Executive Council, on the third article, providing for the maintenance of religious worship, and on other important subjects, are referred to in the Index to the Journal of that Convention. The beautiful tribute of the Delegates to John Adams, (Journal, p. 9) who was first chosen their President, but declined that trust, was from his pen.

His critical taste was put in exercise for the preparation of the volume of posthumous sermons, by his friend Mr. Buckminster, which has enjoyed such high estimation, at home and abroad. Judge Parker and the late Hon. Samuel Dexter, with the assistance of Mr. George (now Professor) Ticknor, made in the first place a large selection from the manuscripts, from which were afterwards chosen by the Rev. Messrs. Channing and Thacher those which were given to the press.

Judge Parker, after waking early, as was his habit, on the morning of July 25th, conversed some minutes, apparently in his usual health. Being observed, after a little time, to articulate less distinctly, he said that he felt a head-ache, but should be better after rising. On attempting to rise, he found his limbs partially paralysed, but was still able to maintain some conversation. On the arrival of Dr. Warren, in twenty minutes after he was seized, he manifested his satisfaction, but did not afterwards speak. Copious bleeding in one arm, and other strong remedies were resorted to, without the slightest good effect. Dr. Warren remained with him three hours, and again attended in consultation with Dr. Bigelow, but it was plain to the medical gentlemen that the case had been a hopeless one from the first.

While resident at Castine, Judge Parker was married to Rebecca Hall, sister of the present Judge of Probate for Suffolk. He was bereaved of three children; two sons in early childhood; and, six years ago, a daughter, Margaret Jarvis, whose loss was a keen affliction. Five survive; Ed-



ward William; Ann Brooks, married to Henry Wainwright; Charles Albert, clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk; John Brooks; and Emily.

In the 2d volume of Massachusetts Reports is a list of Judges of the Supreme Court since William and Mary's charter. It appears that four, viz. Samuel Sewall from 1695 to 1726; Benjamin Lynde, 1712—45; Paul Dudley, 1718—50; and Benjamin Lynde, 1745—1771, have been Judges a longer time; but no Chief Justice has had so long a term of service.

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AN

# ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING  
THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION,

JUNE 5, 1831.

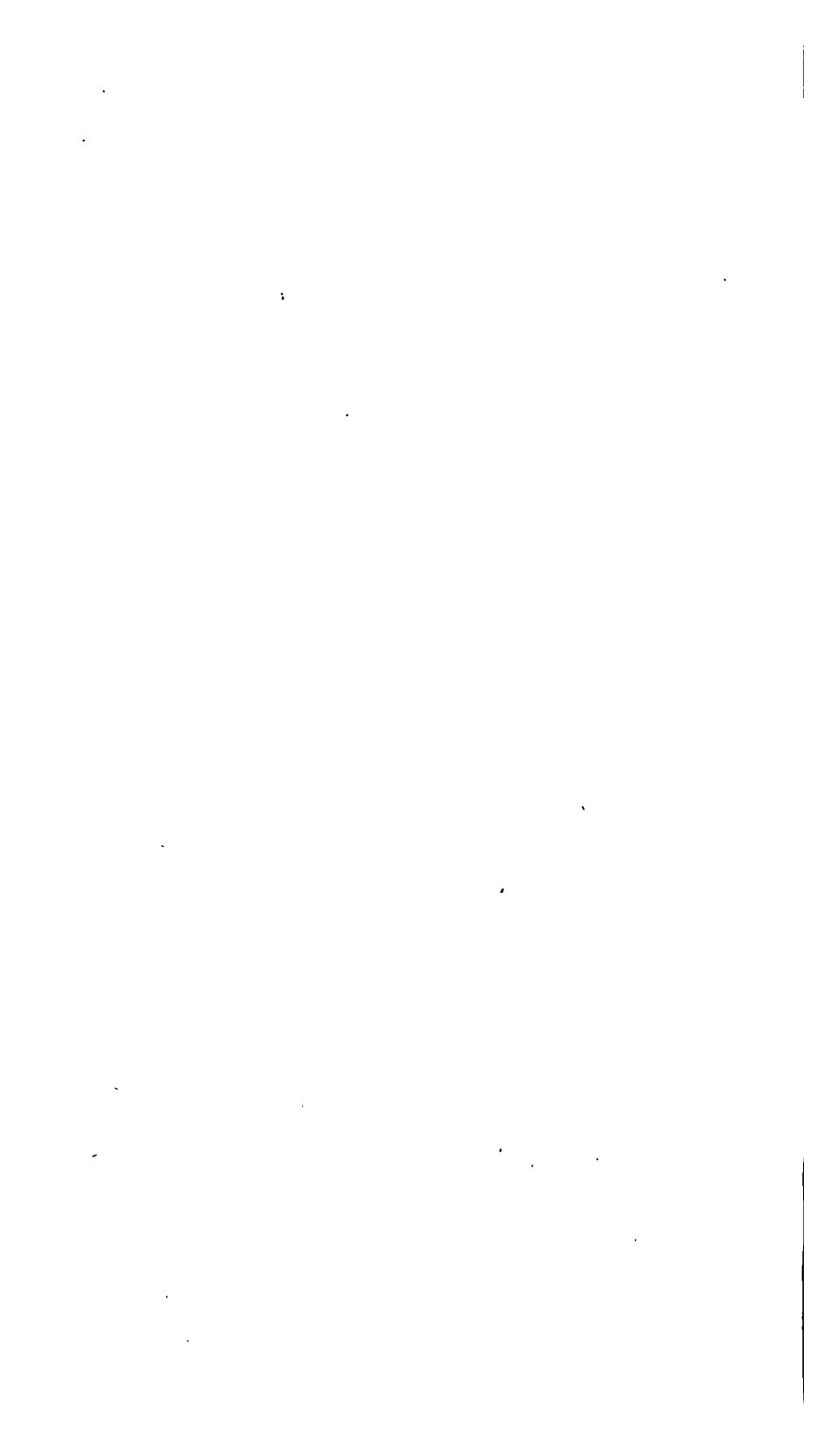
*Dr. Palfrey*  
BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.,  
PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

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BOSTON:

GRAY AND BOWEN.

1831.



## ADDRESS.

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You have assembled, my friends, at the invitation of the Society for promoting Theological Education, to attend to some exposition of its supposed claims to the favor and patronage of the community. These, without text or preface, I proceed to attempt to lay before you, not intending, as I go on, to avoid any details which may help to put you in better possession of the subject, and altogether passing over some topics forcibly presenting themselves, which might have more of general or of popular interest than what I shall discuss, since I am mainly solicitous to make suggestions to meet the present object.

From the early part of the last century, Harvard College had possessed a professorship in theology ; and, in the beginning of the present, by the bounty of a distinguished individual,\* a lectureship in the same department had been established. The College also held funds for relieving the expenses of students preparing for the ministry. But the means of obtaining a suitable education for the sacred office being manifestly quite inadequate, the government of that institution, in a circular letter, addressed, in the year 1815, to some of its leading friends in different parts of the Commonwealth and elsewhere, called the attention of the community to the subject. Subscriptions were in consequence obtained to the amount of nearly thirty thousand dollars, and the contributors

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\* The Honorable Samuel Dexter.

formed themselves into a *Society for the Promotion*, — such was its title, — *of Theological Education in Harvard University*, under an agreement with the College that the fund should be in trust with the President and Fellows of that corporation, jointly with five individuals, chosen from year to year by the Society. A new professorship, that of Biblical Literature, was soon instituted, upon the basis of the lectureship previously existing, and the Divinity School assumed a form, and under the able care of the eminent men who filled its offices of instruction, its usefulness and importance rapidly increased. In the year 1824, a change took place in the relation of the Society of which I speak, to the College, by means of an agreement that the Directors of that Society should exercise an immediate control over the Divinity School, prescribing its course of study, and originating rules for its discipline, subject to the revision of the College government in all cases in which the constitution of the College should so require. Under this administration, the number of students was considerably enlarged; the foundation of a separate library was laid; and Divinity Hall was erected for the accommodation of students with apartments for their different exercises and for lodging, and a third professorship, that of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care, was established, by means of new funds, obtained by the Directors from some of this community's numerous enlightened friends of piety and learning.

But inconveniences not anticipated manifested themselves under this system. The Directors found, that all the attention they could give to their trust, would but partially compensate the disadvantages under which they labored, in having other cares, to which precedence was due, living apart from the institution, and so wanting that opportunity for personal observation of its state, and acquaintance with its pupils, which were needful to the best administration of its concerns. Their representation to this effect was approved by the Society, who accordingly, last autumn, made a proposal to the government of the College, which was acceded to on its part, that the Society's connexion with the Divinity School, both in respect to right of superintendence through the Directors, and to obligation to contribute to its support, should be dissolved. The present object of the Society is expressed in its altered name. Its relation to the University having ceased, it sub-

sists as the Society for Promoting Theological Education, being now at liberty to use its discretion, in applying, in any quarter whatever, the means which may be entrusted to it for that purpose. The College government then proceeded to commit to the Theological Faculty, consisting of the President and three Professors, the same trust in the immediate management of the institution, which had hitherto been exercised by the Directors of the Society.

But, while this Society is now under no obligation to give to its funds one direction rather than another, except that, in the words of its Constitution, they must be appropriated 'for advancing the interests of pure Christianity, and promoting a liberal study of the Scriptures,' and 'so as that every encouragement shall be given to the serious, impartial, and unbiassed investigation of Christian truth,' and 'that no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination of Christians shall ever be required,' — while, I say, it is no longer restricted, in the terms of its Constitution, as to the destination which its funds must take, it is my duty to add, that whatever means are at its disposal, until altered circumstances shall alter its apparent duty, will, in fact, be applied to the support of indigent and meritorious students of the Divinity School in Harvard University. Of the Divinity School, I say, in Harvard University, because I have reason to know that it is to that institution that the views of the government of the Society are, for the present, exclusively directed; and to the support of indigent and meritorious students of that school, because provision for this specific object is now its great want. Thanks to munificent benefactors, we have already a suitable building for them to lodge, and worship together, and be taught in. No further accommodation is needed, or likely to be immediately needed, of this kind. All departments of instruction belonging to a complete course of theological study, in its various branches, are likewise provided for, and the establishment of any new office is not at present desired, though the foundations for those which exist need to be enlarged, to place them on a sufficiently permanent footing. Lastly, the Faculty have recently been so fortunate as to effect an arrangement for relieving students from the heavy expense hitherto attendant upon the purchase of books, by furnishing to each, hereafter, at a small annual charge, the use, through his course, of a copy of every book necessary in pursuing the studies of

his class, with the exception, only, of the Old and New Testaments in the original tongues, which every student is required to possess. Having, then, the place for them to be instructed in, the teachers for them to be instructed by, and the books for them to be instructed from, all that we further want is, that they may have the means of living where this apparatus is prepared, in order that they may receive instruction; and this, in its bare simplicity, is the case which we have to bring before you.

Those who would know whether our application is a reasonable one, may wish to be satisfied upon the points proposed in the four following questions.

Why should ministers be educated at all?

If educated, why at a public institution?

If at a public institution, why at Harvard University, rather than at any other? and,

If at Harvard University, why at the public expense?

1. Why should ministers be educated men, as this Society would have them?

Because, without careful education, they will be incompetent to administer their office to the best satisfaction and edification of the churches. He who would communicate truth, must, of course, himself have become possessed of it; and he who would produce an effect on other minds, must be instructed in the proper arts of influencing them. The ministry are set for the defence of the Gospel, and it must be defended against learned opponents with learning, against ingenious opponents with logical power. It belongs to them to interpret it; and it is only abundant study, which can make them competent to the nicer investigations into its sense. It is their office to enforce its doctrines, laws, and sanctions; and this needs to be done by methods, for which, if right feeling and good sense may supply the materials, it is only application and practice that can mature the skill. Certainly; let those, who understand the Gospel, preach the Gospel. But it is one thing to understand it sufficiently for our own government as a rule of life, and another to be prepared to maintain its heavenly authority against all objections, to show its consistency against all misapprehensions, and to exhibit those most impressive and discriminating views of it, which have the freest and most powerful access to men's minds. I appeal to you, my friends, — and I well know how you will answer the

appeal, — whether you do not expect something more from a minister than to be able to use scripture language familiarly in some vague, or some unexamined, received sense, or to manifest an acquaintance, greater or less, with the common places of some controversy of the day. Entertaining no more worthy ambition, — trusting, and so liable to be self-deceived, — what is there to ensure you even that he will not be found to have handled the word of God deceitfully? And, granting that such expositions and illustrations as he attempts should chance to be mainly right, you do not think that it becomes a shepherd of souls to be willing to be right by chance, without certainty, and without the power of showing to others that he is so. Ministers among us have to do with many who will not be sent away without an answer, and who will not take an assertion, or a rebuke, or a sophism, in the place of one; — not only occasionally with unbelievers, who fully understand the force, and point, and bearing of objections which they urge, but often with believers, whose minds are painfully laboring under some doubt or superstition, from which they are entitled to the relief, that one mighty in the Scriptures might immediately afford; — with persons ignorant, but discerning, susceptible of the best impressions from instruction and argument, but yet knowing what thought, and meaning, and argument are, and on their guard against taking the shadow for the substance. They have concerns with the young mind; and they will have frequent occasions to perceive, that, scanty as its furniture yet may be, it is not merely a white table to be carelessly and incoherently written on; but that it has instincts of a most philosophical discrimination, which will shrink and reluct with a nicer sense than that of the rules of logic from every fallacy for which logic has, or has not, found a name. They have to preach to, and converse with, judicious, experienced, often well-read men, who expect that religious truth is to be set before them on grounds of evidence equally clear and cogent, with what they have been used to look for, and to find, for other truths; and that a consistency is to be shown between it and other parts of their knowledge, that so it may take its place in their minds among things of ascertained and tangible reality, and shed a light upon, and receive lights from, every thing else they know. I will not dwell upon the thought, — though if I should, it would not be altogether in a desponding spirit, for I rejoice, as in one of the brightest signs of the



times, that eminent laymen have taken up these studies, — the thought, that ministers may even need to be somewhat more on the alert, if they would not be outstripped by the better diligence of others, in their own proper course of intellectual exercise. Let it come to be once generally seen or believed, that they know less of their chosen business than others know, and even the task of suitably maintaining our religious institutions, hard enough in some places already, would begin to look like a desperate enterprise. But it is sufficient to say, that, for their own separate uses, and at all times, to meet the necessities of the individual souls for which they undertake to provide spiritual food, the churches demand a learned ministry. And more; there are those, not ministers, but wiser men, it may be, who think they perceive, that the disappearance of such a ministry would be a shivering blow upon the firmest foundation-stone of the community's quiet and prosperity.

I have confined myself in these remarks to a Christian minister's need of education for his office, in order to a fit discharge of its every-day duties, without adverting, because it was too large a subject to be incidentally introduced, to the obligation of the American clergy to use their advantages (in some important respects altogether unparalleled) for enlarging the limits of theological science. Remembering who those are whom I address, I will not further dwell on the topic which I have been treating, except to suggest, that, in the present state of things among us, it is peculiarly desirable, that the requisite mental furniture should be as largely provided as possible within the period of preparatory discipline. There has probably been no previous time when more stress has been laid than now upon the active duties of a minister, to the prejudice of his opportunities for study; when, to a greater degree than now, he was compelled to feel, that the brief intervals of time, which he passed among his books, were so much withdrawn from occupations, esteemed to have a stronger claim upon him. And as long as the prosecution of any regular system of study continues to be thus obstructed, the evil ought to be obviated, as far as may be, by accumulating the richest stock attainable of professional learning, during the preparatory course.

2. But, secondly, if ministers are to be educated, why

should this be at a public institution? Why not, as was formerly the practice, under the care of a private clergyman?

I suppose, my hearers, that no one can consider the subject, and not allow that the practice referred to, was merely the use of a very imperfect expedient, as long as no better was to be had. The question is not at all, whether among the parish clergy are to be found the most eminent men in the profession, nor even, whether in their ranks appear the individuals the most apt to teach others. But it is, whether there is any one, who is qualified to give alone the best instruction in every department; who can command the time, from his parochial cares, to do it; who, in addition to the resources of his own mind, can offer the various other advantages for needed study and practical exercise; and who collects around him a sufficient number of students to exert the proper action on one another. Here are brought to view the obvious advantages of a public institution. In all departments of instruction, its pupils have the aid of teachers, who, while they will generally have enjoyed the benefit of previous practical experience of the ministry, are selected on account of their supposed peculiar interest, each in his own department, and separated from other cares, to the end that all their powers and endeavours may be devoted to giving, and qualifying themselves to give, the best assistance in that walk. Again; it is quite plain that it is only in a public establishment that that collection of means can be made, by which this education is to be most advantageously conducted. In the wide range, which the study of divinity now takes, and which it is greatly undesirable should be narrowed, it is necessary to have access, regularly to a considerable number, and occasionally to a very large number, of books. Further; unless all observation has deceived us, the power of sympathy and the benefit of coöperation among persons engaged in the same pursuit are extremely great; and the interest of a number of students prosecuting their inquiries apart will be very cold, and their progress very slow, and their conclusions for the most part, general and loose, compared with those of the same number collected together, acting on each others' minds and hearts, interchanging their different views, and thus clearing, correcting, and enlarging them, and mutually excited by the power of good example, and of that degree of emulation,

which is consistent with generous feelings. Lastly; the friendships which under these circumstances will naturally be formed, are auspicious of the greatest good to the church, affording foundation for future effective coöperation in worthy common objects, and extending a mutual interest and good understanding, and a sense of mutual dependence and obligation, through the distant communities of worshippers of the same Lord.

3. If there be allowed to be reason in these remarks, then, thirdly, as a place of resort for our youth destined to the sacred office, why should the Divinity School of Harvard University be preferred to other institutions having the same object?

I will not urge, in reply, any sentiment, in which numbers of my hearers might however be found to sympathize, of veneration for a spot, to which are attached so many glowing associations in the minds of this community; whence from generation to generation a noble spirit of intelligence and honor has gone abroad among them, and defenders and benefactors been bountifully supplied; and to which still their affections, if ever for a season they seem estranged, soon turn back, as if instinctively, with a reanimated warmth. I will proceed at once to the great consideration, — a proud if a painful one, — that, unlike every other institution of the kind, with which we are acquainted, — no restriction is placed, at that of which we speak, on the freest scriptural inquiry, on the part either of pupil or teacher. It suffers no violence to be done to the Protestant principles of the sufficiency of God's word, and the right of private judgment; principles, which if we did not know how complex is the mental constitution of man, we should say were not more at the root of intelligent belief than at that of vital piety. It neither calls on the young themselves, nor sets to them the bad example of requiring their guides, to submit their faith to human dictation; to profess their subjection to formularies of man's device; — least of all, to engage to follow the light which the book of divine truth may disclose, no further than to a prescribed point. Here appears a decisive consideration, though all others should incline the other way, why this institution should be preferred as an object of favor and patronage, by those who deem highly of the rights of the mind, and think that above all

things, it ought to be left free to adopt and profess the convictions which Scripture and divine grace may convey to it. If it be true, that here there is no restraint of human creeds, and that at every other institution of the kind in our land, there is such restraint in some form, this, I say, is a commanding reason for the choice of it, among similar objects of patronage, by those who set a high value on the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free.

And, in one view, I cannot but think that this consideration will be seen, by reflecting men, to address itself with special urgency to their sense of personal, and their regard for the public interests. The principles, which fortify one in asserting and using his own liberty of conscience, are of course the same, which will lead him to respect and uphold that liberty in others; and therefore they, who are jealous of encroachment on their freedom of thought, may well be concerned to have the churches provided with a ministry sensible to the mischiefs and the unjustifiable character of any attempt at such encroachment. True; such men may say, that they are secured against spiritual usurpation by the laws. But how far secured? They are protected only from that, from which the partially reformed state of public sentiment in these times would alone protect them. They can neither be imprisoned, fined, banished, nor burned, for thinking for themselves, as in other times they might have been. But the peace of such men is assailable in another way, where the laws find a much greater difficulty in protecting it, and where public sentiment has by no means reached that correctness and delicacy which are to be desired. I ask how a man is to be secured in the possession of his good name, and of those various social advantages which depend upon the respectful estimation in which one is held, and at the same time in the free exercise of his right of private judgment in questions relating to the salvation of his soul. You answer, By the prevalence of an enlightened spirit of toleration in the community. I assent to this, and inquire again by what means that spirit is to be produced and maintained. The reply must be, that it is to be produced and maintained, in great part, at least, by the instructions and examples of a truly liberal clergy. The influence of independent and enlightened men, in other walks of life, upon religious sentiment, is certainly not inconsiderable. But that of the clergy upon the religious

community is still more distinctive and direct. The better part of them are now, as they have been in other periods of the church, the efficient champions of toleration. On the other hand, when they have the inclination, there is not wanting among them power to frame a plausible argument for intolerance, nor resolution to set an example by acting up to their reasonings; and their influence will be the greatest upon precisely those minds which are already the most disposed to bigotry,—upon the narrow and uninformed. In this favored place, my hearers, you will say that you experience little of this evil. But why not? Look at the condition of other places, more populous, more prosperous, possibly not less intelligent, and with not less, perhaps, of the form of godliness; and you may see reason to allow that your comparative exemption can be considered as resulting from nothing more than the labors and example of a truly Christian clergy through a long course of years. But the evil might be set before you in the most palpable shape, if you should be led into many villages even of this Commonwealth, so far advanced before most others in right religious sentiment. You might be shown even there that denunciations for difference of religious opinion, such as when you read, afford you only amusement, if they afford you that, are a most serious affliction to most worthy men; not only wounding them, but crossing their honorable path; touching them in their business,—nay, following them to their firesides. A sort of mark is set upon them, until, in the progress of inquiry, they become numerous enough to introduce a different specimen of the Christian ministry among them; and from that time the spirit of bitterness is rebuked, and waxes fainter and fainter. Who is content with the enjoyment of those rights which alone the law assures to him? Who sets light by those which are only accorded by an enlightened moral sense in the public mind? If you rejoice in your own exemption from the scourge of the tongue, and its attendant evils, you will reasonably desire to have it perpetuated as it was first obtained. If you sympathize with those who endure such evils, you will naturally desire that something may be done for their relief; and both these objects are to be effected, in unison with all other religious objects, by the labors of a clergy,—I do not say, entertaining one or another belief on controverted questions, of this I am not at all now speaking,—but a clergy imbued with

the free, and enlightened, and charitable spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ; and such a clergy, thank God, whatever opinions they may go forth with, there is nothing in the institutions of Harvard University to prevent from being formed there; nor, as long as the people of this Commonwealth understand their duty and interest as well as hitherto they have uniformly understood them, is it to be feared that there ever will be.

You perceive, then, my friends, distinctly, on what ground I venture to rest the claim of preference for this institution over others with a similar design. I do not say that pupils will go forth from us into the Gospel vineyard with a better furniture of learning than from other schools;—though as to other advantages collected for their use, they are evidently great, and to the ample eulogy, which, were my relations different, I could not refrain from pronouncing on the worth of the labors of my colleagues, I know that the public voice would cordially respond. I do not say that our pupils will go forth more devoted to their work than others, or with more of their Master's spirit; though I trust in God it will be our never-ceasing endeavour to make them, not subjects of a scholastic discipline merely, but competent, engaged, diligent, useful ministers of Jesus Christ; to excite them to a disinterested and self-denying, —if I may say it, to an apostolic fidelity and zeal, in the conduct of their great work. I am persuaded that numbers of excellently disposed young persons go forth into the ministry from other places of instruction, nor do I call in question this character as belonging to any-whom they furnish. But, I repeat it, it is unhappily the apparent tendency of the standing regulations themselves of other such establishments, to reconcile the mind to wearing and imposing fetters, which it intimately concerns the public and the church that men should not desire or consent to put on; while the rules of the institution, now recommended, go alike in their letter and their spirit to make it a point of conscience with those whom it forms, to recognise and assert others' Christian liberty, while they prize and use their own.

4. The last inquiry proposed was; If candidates for the ministry are to be prepared at the Divinity School of Harvard University, why is this to be with public aid? To this I answer; because the public wants their services, and because, without such aid, it cannot have them.

The public wants their services. These churches, — your churches, my friends; — are accustomed to look to that source for a supply, whenever, in providence, their places of pastoral instruction are made vacant. You who feel what the worth of a competent and devoted ministry is, you can realize with what solicitude you would be turning your eyes thither, should the light in which you and yours are now rejoicing be displaced or quenched; and, as to all of you, or of those who shall succeed you, this privation must repeatedly come, you perceive what a strong individual concern each may reasonably feel to see this institution even now in a prosperous state, and such numbers resorting to it as may afford a promise that the standard of ministerial character will be henceforward continually rising, and the wants of all the churches be anticipated, if it may be, by a liberal supply. But anticipated it is altogether impossible that they should be, for a very long time to come. To the extent of the suggestion which I am about to make, I am aware that there are some who think it cannot be sustained. But this has only led me to examine the grounds of it more attentively, and the result has been a more complete conviction of its justness. I am persuaded, then, that if we could forthwith send out a hundred candidates for the ministry from the Cambridge school, of average pretensions, every one of them might be placed in some desirable situation of usefulness before a year should expire. This, I repeat it, is my own deliberate conclusion, from such facts as have come within my knowledge, relating to the demand for services of the kind which they render. Some churches send for candidates till they are weary of sending, and in discouragement are either dissolved, or invite some one whose doctrines and manner of ministration would repel them, had they any other resource. Other organized churches are prevented from making the application, by being told that it would be in vain. Others, all ready and anxious to organize themselves, stop short of this step for the same reason; and in a still greater number of neighbourhoods, through the length and breadth of our continent, well known to be ripe for it, and to be able to maintain, and ardently longing to possess, a religious institution such as they are sure would profit their souls and their children's, and make this earth a place of far more happiness as well as improvement to them and others, the movement is never made, for the same reason of the deficiency of this supply.

While the public is so interested in the provision in question,—while the church so wants and craves it,—while a hundred candidates for the ministry, or as many less as any one may suppose, would only satisfy the present demand,—only ten are to be dismissed from this school this year, and the number, if my recollection be not erroneous, has not commonly, perhaps scarcely ever, been so great. Why is this? I do not say that I shall assign the only reason, in recurring to the remark which I just now made on the necessity of further pecuniary aid. One other, and even a more considerable reason,—but one, however, which we cannot obviate,—is, that the influence exerted on students' minds at most other colleges where young men obtain their preparation to enter on theological studies, is such as to disincline them to come hither to conduct those studies. A few pupils have of late been furnished us from the colleges of Rhode Island and of Maine; but while, as hitherto, the sole or principal supply has been from the graduates of Harvard College, and while a fifth, or certainly a quarter part of each class graduated there, would be a large proportion to be found devoting themselves to the ministry, and while some of those who do,—owing to the free spirit of the place, which exempts them from the necessity of any doctrinal bias,—are found with such opinions as lead them to seek their further education elsewhere, we cannot be at a loss for one reason why the number of our students has been as yet so small.

But another reason is more to our present purpose. The public, which wants this supply, has something to do towards providing it. Not every thing;—that I am very far from saying. Towards great part of the needful provision, my friends, it is quite evident that you can take no step. The providence of God must furnish talent; and for the disposition to devote it to this work, and for that spirit of piety and zeal which this work demands, the churches must consent to be indebted to the divine grace, to the instructions of devout parents, to the efforts of the ministry already existing, and to the self-discipline of religious young men. If a competent ministry is to be perpetuated, young men, from generation to generation, must present themselves for the service of the churches with the most essential part of their preparation already made. It is only the finishing part, the



intellectual and practical part of that preparation, which others can have an agency in giving; and, when the rest must of necessity be provided for them, will they lose the benefit of it, when it has been provided, by neglecting to do what is further needful to make it available to their use?

I trust, my friends, that, whatever interest I may take in this subject, I have not lost the power of discriminating upon it. I should greatly hesitate to urge before you the claims of what are called Education Societies;—societies which, finding a young man at the plough or in the work-shop disposed to change his calling for that of a minister, take him up, and carry him at little or no present expense to himself, through all the steps of his preparation for that office. With whatever caution administered, I should tremble to think of the possible effect of such societies to provide a mercenary ministry. To a young man in the humbler walks of industry, becoming a minister appears to be bettering his condition; and when this can be done chiefly at others' cost, the temptation cannot but be strong, and the minds of such be subjected to a powerful bias to suppose themselves directed to this employment by a religious motive, when, if they examined more closely, they might find it only a worldly calculation. I would have our charity reserved from such an equivocal, not to say, hurtful, use, for the assistance of those who have completed their course of literary education. With such an education, a person seems out of reach of the temptation to engage in the ministry for the sake of advancing himself. It would be bold to affirm that, in this country, where such prizes are held out to talent and information, any well educated young person betakes himself to the ministry for the sake of a living. There is no other employment, that engages eminent men, in which the compensation,—since the argument compels us to speak of such things,—is in so small proportion to the labor. If a young man, with his literary education finished, be merely mercenary, rely upon it he will not become a minister. He can do better. He will devote himself to one of the lucrative professions. Or, if he have not courage for the hazards of these, he has a sure resource in the business of instruction, where his knowledge, used with less pains, will command a higher price, and his situation, under the present circumstances of

the greater part of our churches,—those, I mean, in our country towns, will be generally more secure.

If, then, a young man, with his literary education completed, is beyond being bribed into the ministry by the mere facilities of education for it, it is safe to render him assistance in obtaining that education. I conceive that it is also greatly for the interest of the churches. In all ages, the church has drawn some of its brightest ornaments from the poorer, at least not the richer, portion of society; and though, among ourselves, there have been, from the earliest times to the present, an uncommon number of instances of a different sort, it is still from that source that the supply is likely, in no inconsiderable part, to be furnished. A young man, so circumstanced, commonly leaves college embarrassed by a debt, which it is his first object to discharge. To effect this, he engages in the business of instruction; and, this accomplished, it is reasonable to expect that he will continue in that business, or adventure in some other, unless they are truly upright views which impel him to the Christian ministry. He has moreover shown a competency to it in one respect, in the resolution with which he has struggled through the embarrassments of his previous course; and is known to be so far worthy of aid. If aid be afforded him, the church has soon the accession of a minister, at least conscientiously disposed to the work. If it be not, he either abandons the object in discouragement, or at least, while he is obtaining the means of prosecuting it, some of the most active years of his life are lost to the great object to which he desires it should be devoted; and does not either side of this alternative deserve the care of Christians to prevent it?

[The remainder of the discourse was chiefly taken up with statements relating to the condition and wants of the school, during the academic year which is now closed. It may be proper here merely to mention, that the necessary annual expenses of a student are estimated at two hundred dollars, including personal charges of every kind, as well as sixty-six dollars paid in term-bills for instruction, rent and care of room and furniture, and use of text-books. Fourteen students were aided last year from the funds, receiving an average allowance of eighty-three dollars each. Of the sum thus appropriated, six hundred and thirty dollars were fur-

nished from the Hopkins foundation. The other chief resources have been hitherto the bounty of individuals associated for the purpose in different religious societies of Boston, Salem, and Charlestown, and the contributions taken at the annual meeting of the Society for Promoting Theological Education. The number of applications for aid was last year unusually small; and, from particular circumstances, the collection was imperfectly made. It is greatly desirable, that the number of members of the Society for promoting Theological Education should be enlarged, and especially that the attention of liberal benefactors should be turned to the establishment of permanent scholarships, yielding an income of one hundred and fifty dollars each.]

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# DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN THE

CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON,

AUGUST 9, 1832,

THE DAY

APPOINTED FOR FASTING AND PRAYER

IN MASSACHUSETTS,

ON ACCOUNT OF THE

**APPROACH OF CHOLERA.**

*revised*  
BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

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# DISCOURSE.

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## ISAIAH XXVI. 9.

WHEN THY JUDGMENTS ARE IN THE EARTH, THE INHABITANTS OF THE  
WORLD WILL LEARN RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE disease, whose late inroad upon our country is the occasion of the people of this Commonwealth being invited by their government to unite to-day in a religious service, is of not precisely ascertained origin, but its history for the last fifteen years has been carefully observed and recorded. In the month of August, 1817, it broke out in the province of Bengal in Hindostan, at a place called Jessore, about a hundred miles northeast of Calcutta. Traversing the intermediate villages, and occasioning a great mortality in its route, it reached Calcutta early in September. Extending thence in various directions,—north-west, west, and south,—through this thickly peopled peninsula, it reached simultaneously at the end of about a year the city of Madras on its eastern, the Coromandel coast, and that of Bombay on its western; and in three or four months after this latter period appeared in the island of Ceylon near its southern extremity. Not to speak of its progress in

other directions,—as to the south, where it raged in the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius towards the close of 1819, and to the east, where it spread in the six following years into the Birman empire, Siam, and China,—the western course from Hindostan brought it, in 1821, into the southeastern corner of Arabia, whence it passed to the cities on the Persian Gulf, and the rivers which empty themselves into that great basin from the north. From Persia, descending to the shore of the Mediterranean, but not diverging into the countries on its borders, its course lay through Armenia into the southern provinces of Russia in Europe, which however it did not reach till after a long interval of suspension, and slow advance, two years ago. Since that period, its movement has been comparatively very rapid, though also much more limited in the breadth over which it has spread in the line of its progress. Something more than a year since, it passed the western Russian border into Poland, and appeared successively, in the autumn and winter, in Prussia, England, and France. Its crossing to our own shores, over the intervening ocean, in the month of June last, and its subsequent ravages in our most populous city, are matter of recent notoriety.

The destruction of life it has wrought has no doubt been great. Of one calculation, from an accredited source, and in wide circulation,\* the result, which is blazoned forth in capitals, for the greater effect, represents the number of deaths to be ascribed to it in fourteen years, to have been fifty millions. This, of

\* Quarterly Review, No. XCI. pp. 170, 207.

course, is altogether rude and unsatisfactory; for bills of mortality, in many of the countries where it has prevailed, are by no means to be come at. . But let us assume it for the moment, as exhibiting some approximation to the truth, in order to observe what strength of inference it may justify, as to an unprecedented malignity of the disease. I have known the conclusion drawn, upon this basis, that the malady has carried off one in twenty of the human race, because fifty millions are a twentieth part of a thousand millions, at which number the population of the globe is, in a rough reckoning, computed. But a moment's consideration only is needed to show that this is a most widely erroneous estimate. If the malady in question has made fifty millions of victims in fourteen years, it has made, on an average, somewhat more than three millions and a half each year. Now reckoning the average human life at thirty years, the number of deaths during the same period, under the action of the ordinary prevailing causes, has been at the rate of not much less than thirty-five millions a year; that is, this disease has been destroying about one tenth part as many as are destroyed by the maladies with which we have been all along familiar, or one three hundredth part of the human race. But again; there is not the smallest reason to suppose that the three and a half millions, who may have annually been swept away by this disease, have been so many added to the thirty-five millions who die year by year in common times. For it is a well-known property of unusual epidemic diseases, to take the



place of, to supersede and expel, in a degree and for the time, such other disorders as are of common prevalence in the region where they rage. That is, either one or the other, or both, of two things, take place. Other maladies become partially merged in the new epidemic,—their symptoms subsiding or deviating into the symptoms of this,—and then, in proportion as its range is extended, theirs is abridged; in other words, it destroys the same lives, which in its absence, those other diseases would destroy;—or, on the other hand, if it falls on different subjects from what would be attacked by the maladies more commonly known, it does not necessarily cause the aggregate mortality to be greater; for, that very state of the atmosphere or other secret physical influence, through which it occasions danger to some, may, to the same or to some different extent greater or less, be salubrious to others of different constitution, situation or habits, just as the drug which would be one man's remedy, will be another's bane; or the noxious principle, whatever it be, by which it does its work, may be a concentration of unwholesome elements existing always in a diffused and weakened state around us, and which, when collected into a limited region, to produce a remarkable devastation there, leave the neighboring regions, from which they are withdrawn, in a so much more healthy condition than before. So that though it may, without doubt, be true, that an uncommon epidemic may add, and add essentially, to the exposures and the destruction of human life, this is by no means to be safely assum-

ed as a necessary fact. The contrary may be true, as well. Other mortal diseases may have been abating in the same proportion, or in something like the proportion, that this has spread ; and which of these events has at any time in truth occurred, presents a question to be determined, if at all, by inquiry and good judgment, and not by conjecture or imagination. I am not saying that the agent to which our attention is now turned, is not to be charged with a considerable destruction of human life, additional to what, under the various forms incident to the wear and decay of this mortal body, takes place in common times. I only suggest, that he who should affirm the contrary,—who should maintain, for instance, that in the last fifteen years, or in any five, or any one of them, many more, or more in proportion of the human race have died, than in the same period immediately preceding, or in any like period of the last century,—would be maintaining that which he cannot prove, or so much as show any probable grounds for believing. For anything that I have been able to learn, it cannot be made to appear in the case of any country, scarcely\* even of any city in the civilized world,—that is, in those where the means of information are accessible and worthy of trust,—it cannot, I say, be made to appear that the aggregate number of deaths in a course of months has been materially increased by the presence of this disease ;—still less, which is much the more pertinent question, can it be made to appear, that,

\* The statement is made broader in respect to cities, so as to allow for the cases of Paris, Quebec, and Montreal.

taking any short term of years collectively, any such material increase has been witnessed from this cause in any continent, kingdom, district, or town.

II. Am I urging then that this malady ought not to be regarded as being what, in the language of our honored chief magistrate's proclamation which has brought us together, it is called, a divine "judgment?" By no means. It is a new, and therefore a striking, and in some respects it is without doubt a peculiarly terrific form of admonition of the frailty of our mortal nature. The ignorance, under which the best science confesses itself to lie, of its causes and its cure, and accordingly the helplessness which we should feel in its grasp, and which we do feel in its neighborhood,—the neglect of premonition with which it assails,—and the greedy and determined speed with which it does its work,—undeniably these circumstances go to mark it with a formidable character. And as to its quality, attributed in the word judgment, of being a divine visitation,—without going into the metaphysics of the doctrine of providence, which in other times I have discussed largely in this place, I will only at present say, that, in my view, all credible intimations of reason, as well as all just interpretation of scripture, go to establish, in a plain, and important, and unquestionable sense, the truth, that whatever befalls us men befalls us under the divine direction, so that nothing of this kind can forbear, or invade, or stay, or depart, except by a providential agency.

But let us understand what we mean by a judgment; for yet another idea, beyond what have been

referred to, is very commonly, though, I apprehend erroneously, supposed to be essentially comprehended in the term. Neither in the view of reason nor of religion is a judgment necessarily,—though it may be,—a judicial infliction, a retribution, a penalty imposed for transgression. That the laws of scripture phraseology do not demand that sense, let the following among other passages which might be cited show, where the Hebrew word used for sentence and judgment, is the same with that in the original of our text. “Let my sentence come forth from thy presence,” said David in the seventeenth Psalm, when the sentence or judgment, for which he was suing, so far from being penal, was one of acquittal and approbation. And again, in the nineteenth Psalm, “the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.” Nothing of a retributive character is here to be supposed. The word, synonymous in the quoted passage, as in various other places, with statute, denotes, in general, a declaration, however made, of the divine will, or, to state the meaning yet more largely, an intimation or exercise of the divine pleasure.

And let any one, who speaks of this calamity as a judgment in the sense of a retributive infliction, consider in what manner he is prepared to explain himself. Upon whom or what is it such a retributive infliction? Can we say, upon the continents which it has traversed?—since no less wide than this has been its spread. Continent is merely a name which we use for the purpose of conveniently designating

an expanse of adjacent territory, enclosed within certain great natural boundaries. A continent is no moral being, that it should be a subject of punishment. It cannot offend as such; though the individuals dwelling in it may, a different case, which will presently be noticed. A continent is not so much as a body politic. It has no common cause, nor duty, nor character, nor responsibility, nor mind to be affected by punishment so as to grieve or amend. —Is the judgment in question then to be reckoned a retributive infliction for the sins of the nations which it has visited? A nation, acting as such through its government, has unity, and it has morals and interests of its own; and it is true that God does punish national sins with temporal evils, because nations,—not being, like their component parts, immortal existences, having no being except in this world, —to be rewarded or punished at all, must be rewarded or punished with temporal prosperity or loss. But, in order to administer this divine government over nations so as to produce the intended good effects, to cause the punishments applied to bring about their due results of amendment in the party punished, and reflection and caution in others, it seems necessary,—unless, indeed, there be a revealed explanation of the divine design, as there was in the case of the Jews,—it seems necessary, I say, that the punishment, under providential guidance, should be made to appear to follow on the sin in the way of effect upon cause, so as to point to the sin which is the object of divine displeasure, as when a nation

is punished for its luxurious habits, by declining into weakness and want. Nothing of this kind can be detected in the case under our notice. We can point to no sin, which being apparently and universally the cause of the visitation in question, regarded in its light of a calamity, is to be interpreted by a religious man to be also its provocation, regarded in its light of a judgment. Again; traversing the surface of the earth in certain great lines, it appears to have visited, indiscriminately, nations of the most various and opposite principles and habits; thus utterly confounding us, if we will regard it as a rod of national punishment, in our conjectures about what we need first of all to know, in order for it to serve as punishment,—that is, what sins it is meant to punish. Nay, on two separate occasions, at least, it attacked in succession two bordering nations which were at war,—a war which involved the leading principles of their policy, not to say of their national character;—a case which would seem to justify a probable inference, that, if the one nation had a bad cause, and deserved punishment, the other had a good one, and deserved forbearance. And, once more; it appears impossible to regard it in the light of retributive visitation for national sin, from the circumstance that it has not universally,—as, for instance, the privations and burdens of war do,—nor even always extensively, made itself felt throughout a country, but has often had a limited diffusion, in districts apparently in no leading respect distinguished in character from those contiguous, while it has left these latter unaf-

fected in any part of their essential prosperity.—Is it to be called then, once more, a retributive judgment upon individuals, upon those whom it has taken, or those whom it has bereaved? This would be, my hearers, to recognize a principle of divine government unknown, as I think, to Christianity. Individuals are to be rewarded for their obedience, and punished for their sins by positive exertion of divine power, affecting their condition according to revealed laws; but it is not in this world that they are to be so. Providential visitations affecting our lot in this world, are rightly called judgments indeed, if we carefully limit the word to the sense of divine interpositions, affording occasions for reflection, and means for the improvement of the character; and this they may be to us, if others, as truly as if we ourselves, are the persons whose lot they affect. But retributive judgments they are not. Our retribution is to come in the life beyond the grave. All here is tentative, probationary, designed to improve and so to bless; to improve and bless either the individual by calling him to repentance and amendment; or to improve and bless others by enforcing on them caution to avoid the like sins. What was our Saviour's emphatic language used under like circumstances to those considered? "Suppose ye," said he, "that those Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices, were sinners above all the Galileans because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Or those eighteen, on whom the tower in Siloam

fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay."

III. We have thus seen, at some length, on what grounds and in what sense the wide-spread malady under our notice is rightly ranked as one of those divine judgments of which our text speaks. And I have urged this latter point, my hearers, because I apprehend that the idea of its being designed as a specific retribution for specific sins, national or personal, would tend, as far as it should give direction to our thoughts, to distract our thoughts from what ought to be the chief subject of their consideration. Should we entertain that sentiment, our obligation would then appear to confine itself to the searching out, and cleansing ourselves from, the particular sin which had provoked the particular judgment, instead of doing,—what is at once much more to the purpose and more feasible,—giving way to all various reflections on God's relation to us, which it is fitted to excite, and especially extracting from it all lessons of righteousness, which it is especially fitted to convey. It is justly reckoned a judgment of God, not as being a retributive visitation,—this, at all events, we have no right to assume, and we have no way to prove,—but as being an apparent and remarkable divine dispensation, addressing us solemnly, and capable of being turned to account for our improvement and good. *When the judgments of God are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world ought to learn righteousness.* By way of making this principle practically



useful, let us proceed briefly to consider what are some parts of that righteousness which this particular judgment affords us special occasion or advantages for learning.

1. And first, let me advert in a word to a most desirable improvement in the manners of society, to which the attention of wise and good men has been of late with much determination and publicity directed, and which it seems that the prevailing malady may be expected to promote. Certainly it is not disorderly livers alone, who have hitherto been its victims ; on the contrary, numbers of men, of character the most irreproachable, have swelled its melancholy lists. Still, one of the prominent facts belonging to the case is, that among the intemperate its greatest ravages are uniformly witnessed ;—in other words, of the few laws relating to its action, as yet ascertained, this is one, that habits of excess create a distinctive and strong predisposition to it. Here, then, is another calamity added to the long catalogue of those into which the inebriate plunges himself ; and if the rest, from which he ought to shrink, have lost by familiarity something of their power over his imagination and his fears, it is to be hoped that this, with its novel terrors, may still do something effective towards exciting them anew. Indeed, the tendency to which I have referred once settled,—as it may now be affirmed to be altogether beyond dispute,—the result of some further check to intemperate habits can scarcely fail extensively to follow. The call to caution is loud and alarming. The man who is compelled to see

that an irregularity in which hitherto he might indulge himself with comparative safety, may now very probably send him to his grave before the rising of another sun, must, to persist, be maddened with something more, if possible, than a drunkard's frenzy. All may advantageously learn, under this added motive to vigilance, to practise a stricter control over those appetites, every undue indulgence of which is attended with various danger, now revealed in a new shape ; and the lesson may be found to be attended with so many benefits, that there will be no disposition to unlearn it, when the present peculiar reason for regarding it shall have passed away. And they who have hitherto interested themselves in the measures in operation for banishing the manifold evils of intemperate habits, may feel their hands strengthened for the good work by a perception of the peculiar mischiefs which now are threatened by the vice, and of the increased sympathy which now, under an excited sense of common danger, the public will accord to their endeavors ; while others, who have heretofore taken no part in the enterprise, may now be moved to do so by considerations of personal safety ; and the sentiment of the public at large may find itself constrained, under existing circumstances, to authorize vigorous measures to be taken for its furtherance, which in common times it would hardly be persuaded to adopt. In short, in addition to those which we have long been hearing, here is another loud testimony of providence against the danger to a community of tolerating habits of vicious excess within it ;

and the lessons of righteousness in this respect, which hitherto, as individuals or as citizens, we may have but imperfectly learned, are now commended again with striking emphasis to every man's attention, in every capacity that belongs to him.

2. Another part of righteousness, which the apprehended judgment calls on us to learn, is found in the sentiment of a Christian courage. Not the courage which shuts its eyes against an impending danger, blindly counts upon exemption for itself, and neglects to take steps betimes to avoid or mitigate the evil threatened. No; the levity which, while yet the apprehended scourge is somewhat remote, admits of such a state of mind, is the same which, on its near approach, will be likely to be manifested in the different form of a craven panic. But the courage which looks the evil tranquilly in the face, not overrating either its intrinsic magnitude, or the probability of becoming exposed to it; which coolly investigates the means of safety, possesses itself in a manly composure of spirit, so as to be prepared wisely to make trial of them, and then sustains itself in a calm confidence that, having done its own part, the great ultimate interest is secure, while the issue of the present peril is in better hands. The courage, which we shall desire to have learned and to practise when the peril shall come, is to be founded in part on what we shall have done beforehand, on what we shall have been doing now. It is our duty, our religious duty, at all times, to endeavor to make the most of, and to retain the longest, the powers of usefulness

committed to our keeping and administration, by applying all means known to us for preserving a sound mind in a sound body ; and all those personal habits, thus highly sanctioned, of prudence, moderation, and method, in diet, regimen, exposure, and so on,—habits which do not admit of being enumerated here, but which are of perpetual and urgent obligation, are to make part of the proper basis for that composed state of mind in which we ought to desire to be, when the apprehended evil shall come nigher. To this end, we ought also to cherish in ourselves, and encourage in others, that just confidence in the discretion and parental good intentions of those who have the charge of us as a community, which will greatly animate, facilitate, and aid their labors, afford the best security for their proving efficacious, and tend in every way to strengthen the foundations for our own and for the common comfort and safety. Above all, we should be diligently providing for our spirits, against the time when they may be tempted to faint, the support of the Christian faith and graces. We should be busy in the religious self-discipline that will prepare us to encourage ourselves, as we are told David did in the gloomiest juncture of his fortunes, in the Lord our God. .

3. And this brings me to say, that, from the judgment of God in question, we ought, for another part of righteousness, to learn to *dernes* to others, and be very careful not to learn inhumanity. Among the dreaded aspects of new and malignant epidemic diseases, there is no other nearly so horrible as the barbarous selfishness which they have been

known to engender in timid minds. To fall into this, under the excitement of danger, is to ensure immeasurably the greater evil for the chance of escaping the less. God send us the cholera much rather than hardness of heart! A country where one in every ten should be falling before a pestilence, would, doubtless, present a melancholy spectacle; but how incalculably,—shall I not say how infinitely,—less dismal to every rightly judging mind, than one where, while such a visitation was endured, appealing, in a tone to soften rocks, to human power for relief, and to human feelings for sympathy, the other nine tenths, or a large, or any portion of them, were seen to stand aloof, and let their brethren die unaided and uncheered, from dread of personal exposure. I pretend, my hearers, to no medical science. I cannot argue the question of contagion or non-contagion. I do not disguise from myself that whatever persuasion I may entertain on the subject is based on very inadequate knowledge. But I say even, hold for nothing the opinion of many of the wisest men, formed from the most diligent inquisition into facts; assume the contagiousness for a probability, or even for a truth; and the dictates of Christian morality,—not at all of a sublimated, but of a judicious and discriminating morality,—are still the same. Nay, I care not, for the moment, to go as far as this. I will stand simply by the dictates of good sense, directing its observations to nothing further than the means of present safety. For, if the propagation of the

disease by contagion be a fact in the case, it is certainly not the only, nor the only material fact. If some directly exposed to the contagion of the disease are infected by it in consequence, all certainly are not, nor any thing like a major part. If some afflicted with it suppose they can trace the influence to contagion, all do not so suppose, even when hindered by no prepossession against the doctrine, nor is it supposed of them all by others, the best acquainted with their individual circumstances and the best qualified to judge. If there be danger, again, in communication with the sick, time after time it has been shown to be such a danger, that there are no precautions so jealous that they can be relied on to avert it. If there be a danger of this kind,—which, I repeat, is a question belonging to others to discuss,—it is yet undoubtedly a danger to which we may be the most immediately exposed, without the smallest injury, for great multitudes have been so exposed, and felt no harm; witness, in particular, the unquestioned and remarkable, though not, of course, absolute exemption of physicians and other attendants upon the sick in hospitals and religious houses,—as well as elsewhere, where the record is necessarily less exact; and this too, notwithstanding the extraordinary fatigues to which persons so circumstanced are unavoidably subject. If there be a danger of this kind, so there is again,—this has been repeatedly seen,—great danger in the fearful and agitated state of feeling which would shun it. Wherefore, if we have taken up the theory in question, let us still rest in the

maxim for our great security, that the best repellent of contagion is a courageous mind. We do not know how contagion, if it be a phenomenon of the case, communicates disease, but we do know,—for to this point the evidence of all experience is full,—that a composed and confident spirit is the trustiest armour of defence against it. Under circumstances which allow no man to feel a security for his life, let every one then obtain for himself this most available protection; and above all, let every man covet for himself the higher security of being found,—should he be summoned away,—at his post of duty to God and his fellow-men. That is the very place to be taken from. I repeat it, undue uneasiness on account of the theory to which I have referred, is a very likely way, whether the theory be well founded or not, to realize all the evil dreaded. If it be not well founded, of course there is no danger in discharging all the offices of humanity. If it be well founded, still, with the influence in action all around us, whatever precautions we could take would afford a miserable reliance, compared with that collected and brave spirit which has carried so many safely through, whom it had sent on the blessed errand of mercy into the thickest of the danger. And if, after all, the fatal messenger were commissioned to seek us, where else should we so willingly confront it, as where a self-approving conscience would not tremble at the sound of its step? Yes, my hearers; admonitions of our common frailty are sent,—not to rend all relations of amity, not to suspend all offices of good-will, not to

crush all impulses of love, not to make us dread, and annoy, and forsake one another, God forbid !—but to impress on us a sense of common interest, to quicken us to a watchful mutual affection, to melt us to sentiments of brotherly compassion, to nerve us for deeds of heroic beneficence. Human suffering is intended to speak to human hearts, and indeed we do need God's pity, if ever it should fail to speak to ours. The dreaded pest can do nothing nearly so bad for us, let it exhaust on us its store of loathsome tortures, as to teach us an insensible, cruel, brutal indifference to all but to ourselves. And if, in such seasons, the most contemptible aspects of human character have sometimes been displayed, so have often the most fair and godlike. For us the time may be near at hand, for some of the beautiful graces developed in the relations between man and his brother man to be conspicuously manifested, in domestic truth and a more expanded benevolence, ministering, in the loftiness of their self-devotion, by the couch of helplessness and anguish; professional duty, shrinking under its high sense of honor and responsibility, from no labour nor peril; public spirit and Christian bounty stretching out their open hands. Should it come, may it then be seen that we have all been preparing, in our several spheres, to be true to the exigencies of that time! So, when the judgment shall have passed away, the righteousness it has matured may prove ample compensation even for hard struggles it may have cost us.



4. Once more ; from the divine judgment in question we may reasonably be expected to take a lesson in so much of righteousness, as consists in a profound sense that,—helpless ourselves,—we are absolutely in God's hands,—along with those other reflecting, self-scrutinizing, self-renouncing, and at the same time confiding and hopeful habits of mind, which that sentiment, wrought into the mind, may be expected to create. We are absolutely in God's hands,—who can doubt it?—to be dealt with unre-sisting according to the dictates of his will, whether in methods of operation with which we have, or with which we have not been before familiar.—We speak of an order of nature, and sometimes we speak of it in such a way, that we might seem to imagine all the machinery, with which the divine power is ever to shape our condition, to be discernible within the limits of that order. We arrange the outlines and parcel out the departments of our sciences, so as to find a place somewhere for every thing which we have observed ; and then, by the way in which we speak of our sciences, one might suppose we thought them co-extensive with the limits of all knowable things. But here is an operation of God's power as unheard of, as if he had visibly stretched forth his "red right arm" to smite us from a cloud. Here is a demonstration of God's almightiness, the like of which, for any thing we know, has never before occurred since the globe we dwell upon was rolled forth on its great cycle of revolutions. Here is a new element intro-

duced into the system of human things. Here is a new action of divine providence on man. To no order of nature, before recognized, does it belong. Science knows nothing of it, or, at all events, nothing but what it has very lately and very imperfectly learned. The mysterious plague passes from nation to nation, trampling down masses of men in its path, and because we have as yet obtained little acquaintance with those related circumstances, apparently determining its course, which, did we know them well enough to philosophize upon them, we should denominate secondary causes,—because of this, we are fain to refer it directly to the primary cause of a divine agency, and to say that it should impress on us a truth, which on the discerning mind,—but not on the undiscerning, by reason of their familiarity,—is equally enforced by all the common methods of God's government;—the truth, namely, that we are entirely and impotently at God's disposal, and that he has power to dispose of us in ways altogether hitherto unknown, as well as in those of which we have had the most experience.—And this truth, when brought to view, is commonly declared in a manner to show that something peculiarly awful and startling is understood to be announced. The truth is grand and momentous, and so far it is awful. And the manner of admonition, by which it is brought home to the mind, as in the present instance, may be startling. But the doctrine itself, that we are absolutely in God's hands,—is that a doctrine to shudder at? Where can

we better be? Where would we be, if not in the hands of infinite wisdom and love? Alarmed, by anything which makes us feel, more sensibly than before, that we are completely at God's disposal,—God's disposal, who regards our danger, knows our needs, cares for our well-being, will listen to our prayers! Why, it is precisely what above all things else should compose, and satisfy, and encourage, and rejoice us. Alarmed we might well be, if any thing could lead us to doubt this. Affrighted into the extremest agony of terror we might reasonably be, if any thing could show us the contrary of this. But, to be brought to perceive more vividly the nearness of God to us, to be made to understand more thoroughly that whatever befalls us befalls us under the administration of his will, is not here precisely the amplest cause for a perfect repose and contentment of the mind?

I would repeat, then, in conclusion, the scriptural expression\* before used, for it is full of weighty meaning;—as David did, when things were much darker to him than they are now to us, let us encourage ourselves, my hearers, in the Lord our God. He found, in the sequel, that he had not encouraged himself unreasonably; and the spirit of pious confidence, and hope for the best issue, which he had maintained in the worst of times, was, under the divine blessing, made a means of the re-establishment of his fortunes. Listening to the prayers which our people pour out

\* 1 Samuel xxx. 6.

before him this day, and granting them an answer of peace according to their terms, it may please God to withhold the dreaded step of the destroyer from being planted on our borders. Or, if it come, still, by his smile on our endeavors made in humble trust in his goodness, it may come in some form of mitigated hardship, may be forbearing in its ravages, and not linger in its stay. But, at all events, our main concern is, that should the judgment be among them,—walking in darkness, wasting at noon-day,—the people, endeavoring to learn from it the lessons of righteousness it bears, should not, in remembering that they are mortal, forget that they are also immortal beings, and that any danger they may incur in this latter character is unspeakably more serious than in the former. Let the people of our city,—a city set upon a hill in respect to power of moral influence,—now entertain a just sense of the amount of good which it is in their power to do to others, who are looking to them, and of their responsibility for employing this capacity of usefulness conscientiously and prudently, and in all ways well. Let them be spirited to set an example of orderly, diligent, sagacious, and liberal preparation to await,—or, if it may be, ward off,—the judgment ; of erect and confiding courage to meet it, should it come ; of patience to bear it ; of humane endeavor to relieve it ; and of self-application to extract from it all lessons of righteousness which it may have to teach. When, my hearers, as a community, we have joined our counsels, our best endeavors of pre-

caution, and our devotions together, and while, as individuals, we give diligent heed to the Christian discipline of our spirits to meet the worst or the best, at the same time, "continuing instant in prayer," and resolved that, taking no risks in the way of any kind of self-indulgence, we will be the more free to take them in the way of being serviceable to others; we have then done and are doing all that belongs to ourselves, and the issue of events is where it is far happiest for us that it should be,—with the wise and good God.

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# SERMON

PREACHED IN THE

CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE,

DECEMBER 1, 1833,

THE LORD'S DAY AFTER THE DECEASE OF

MISS ELIZABETH BOND.

*by hand*  

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BY JOHN G. PALFREY.

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BOSTON :  
NATHAN HALE, 14 WATER STREET.  
1833.

**At the Regular Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Church in Brattle Square, in Boston, holden Tuesday evening, Dec. 3d, 1833 :**

**VOTED,—That this Committee, sensibly affected by the dispensation of Divine Providence in removing by death one of the younger members of the Society, return their thanks to the Reverend Professor PALFREY for the appropriate notice which he took of the melancholy event, in his Sermon delivered on Lord's day, December 1st,—and in the belief that his improvement of this distressing bereavement should be preserved for the benefit of the Society, do respectfully request of him a copy of his Sermon for the press.**

**A true copy from the Records.**

**Attest—IVERS J. AUSTIN, Clerk.**

## SERMON.

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### JOHN XVII. 4.

I HAVE GLOMFIED THEE ON THE EARTH. I HAVE FINISHED THE WORK  
WHICH THOU GAVEST ME TO DO.

OF course, no other being upon earth can use this language, with a like fulness of meaning to what was conveyed in it by our Lord. The difference between its force, as employed by him and by others, must needs be two-fold. The work, appointed by his Father to be done by him, immeasurably exceeded in importance every work which is committed by the same universal Disposer to other hands; and he did his prescribed task thoroughly, while others, who the nearest approach him, at best leave some deficiency and imperfection in the accomplishment of theirs.—But still the aim to be contemplated by each and every one of us,—the object for which God made us to live, and the object for which we should desire to live,—is exactly described in the same terms,—the finishing of the work, greater or less, which God has appointed to us respectively to do; and in that sense of the words in which they have close interest for us, we shall, in the divine estimation, be held to have finished that work which we have heartily desired, and strenuously endeavoured to accomplish, though not all



the results at which we had been aiming should prove to be achieved.

And then as to defective accomplishment of our prescribed task in life, it has not that connexion which it may be hastily imagined to have, with a longer or shorter duration of life. By one whose years God has lengthened out, the work of a long life is the work appointed by him to be done. That of a short life, is the work which he has assigned to one recalled in childhood or in youth. If death separates a young friend from me, I may mourn his loss greatly on other accounts, but not because time has been denied him to complete his task. For his time was the very measure of his task. I cannot deplore him as having been privileged in this respect less than others. I cannot admit the idea of any life, in an exact way of speaking, being prematurely closed. Opportunity is the eternal limit of responsibility. "She hath done what she could," the language of our Lord's commendation of Mary, embodies the majestic spirit of the requisitions of his Gospel; and the fair form which I lay in the earth in the glory of its spring promise, is as ripe for heavenly honours, if the brief allotted season have been used as well,—as that which has come down to its resting-place bending under the venerable decrepitude of a hundred winters.

Having my reflections naturally directed to the subject, by an event of the week, which has made a great impression on the minds, and touched a deep chord in the hearts of not a few of us here present, young, and middle aged, and old,—I am going, my

friends, to present a few thoughts relating to the place of duty assigned by providence, in its universal distribution of reasonable and useful service, to young persons of the more retired sex ;—the task which God their Maker sent them here to do ;—the work, which God their Judge will look to them to finish before they proceed to those of maturer life, or are arrested, should such be their lot, on its threshold. I know, that happily the responsibilities and dignity of the season of youth are generally better estimated and more urgently pressed, in our times, than they have been used to being heretofore. But do there yet remain no lingering traces of that somewhat arrogant manly assumption, that, as to men are committed the most prominent trusts of society, the minds which are destined to that service are to be the great object of the philanthropist's and patriot's care ? I care not to strike that balance, if I might. What concerns the individual for time and eternity, is, that his own work, whatever it be and of whatever relative consideration, be well performed ; and what interests the whole is, not that one or another sphere of duty be ascertained to be of primary account, but that every sphere be well filled, each several relation conscientiously sustained ; and sure I am that that, to which I invite your attention, is perceived at once to have a rank in the social system, which there is no need to resort to disparaging comparisons to establish or to set forth.

When we speak of the duties of any specified age or other condition, it is of course not any such general obligations that we mean to enforce,—belonging

alike to all conditions,—as those of cultivating and developing in all conduct the spirit of christian self-control, benevolence, and devotion ; but simply of the manner in which christian principles are to be applied and manifested in the distinguishing occasions of the condition in question.—I observe then, first, that, in the common course of things, the work given to a young female to do, is the blessed one of a good daughter.—A good daughter !—there are other ministries of love more conspicuous than hers, but none in which a gentler, lovelier spirit dwells, and none to which the heart's warm requitals more joyfully respond.—There is no such thing as a comparative estimate of a parent's affection for one or another child. There is little which he needs to covet, to whom the treasure of a good child has been given. But a son's occupations and pleasures carry him more abroad, and he lives more among temptations, which hardly permit the affection, that is following him perhaps over half the globe, to be wholly unmingled with anxiety, till the time when he comes to relinquish the shelter of his father's roof for one of his own. While a good daughter is the steady light of her parent's house. Her idea is indissolubly connected with that of his happy fireside. She is his morning sun-light, and his evening star. The grace, and vivacity, and tenderness of her sex have their place in the mighty sway which she holds over his spirit. The lessons of recorded wisdom which he reads with her eyes, come to his mind with a new charm as they blend with the beloved melody of her voice. He scarcely knows weariness which her song does

not make him forget, or gloom which is proof against the young brightness of her smile. She is the pride and ornament of his hospitality, and the gentle nurse of his sickness, and the constant agent in those nameless, numberless acts of kindness, which one chiefly cares to have rendered because they are unpretending but all-expressive proofs of love. And then what a cheerful sharer is she, and what an able lightener of a mother's cares ! what an ever present delight and triumph to a mother's affection ! Oh how little do those daughters know of the power which God has committed to them, and the happiness God would have them enjoy, who do not, every time that a parent's eye rests on them, bring rapture to a parent's heart. A true love will almost certainly always greet their approaching steps. That they will hardly alienate. But their ambition should be not to have it a love merely, which feelings implanted by nature excite, but one made intense, and overflowing, by approbation of worthy conduct ; and she is strangely blind to her own happiness, as well as undutiful to them to whom she owes the most, in whom the perpetual appeals of parental disinterestedness do not call forth the prompt and full echo of filial devotion.

A sister's duties, secondly, belong to the place in life of which I speak ; and in the daily communications of domestic society, what a blessing is a sister's friendship, when it assumes its appropriate character, experienced to be. How much is constantly within her power, of all that goes to make home a happy place to those who are objects, with her, of the same parental care. As they advance together,

from infancy to their places of separate service, how much of the promise which others put forth, of the enjoyment which others experience and impart, of the docility which they manifest, and the improvement which they make, depends on the influence which goes forth from her. How large and cherished a place does a good sister's love always hold in the grateful memory, with which one who has been blessed with the benefits of this relation, looks back to the home of his childhood. How many are there, who, in the changes of maturer life, have found a sister's love, for themselves and others dearer than themselves, their ready and adequate resource. With what a sense of security is confidence reposed in a good sister, and with what assurance that it will be uprightly and considerately given, is her counsel sought. How intimate is the friendship between such sisters, not widely separated in age from one another. What a reliance for warning, excitement, and sympathy, has each secured in each. How many are the brothers, to whom, when thrown into circumstances of temptation, the thought of a sister's purity has been as a constant holy presence, rebuking every licentious thought. I suppose that among securing influences exerted from external sources upon the minds of young men, there is scarcely any to which more importance demands to be attached, than to their sense of the worth of a sister's esteem, their desire of gratifying her fond ambition for them, the sentiments of delicacy, which are inspired in her society, the taste for other improving society, which is there made to grow up, and the facilities for it which

she is able to afford. Unpretending to authority, and incapable of coercion, a sister's mild influence has all the greater power to soften the harshness of a rude character, and to check the excesses of adventurous or passionate impetuosity. And her unassuming example to the younger members of a household,—the example of a somewhat more discreet and experienced equal, with interests the same as their own, and feelings and views not so dissimilar as those of parents are liable to be supposed, with constant opportunities to insinuate easily her views of duty, and recommend them by minute but acceptable kindnesses,—possesses a power over those younger minds which is all but absolute. No! let not any of my young hearers, who are sisters, dream that they can be acting on a light responsibility. A serious charge has been given them, and serious consideration becomes them how they shall fulfil the trust.

I might go on to speak of the duties belonging to the relation of friendship, as having a place among those of that class of persons to which these remarks refer; and certain it is that, in favorable instances, that sentiment is known to subsist between them in extraordinary constancy, purity, and warmth, and to produce, in respect to character, a vast amount of mutually beneficial results. But the duties of friendship between such parties are in no respect different from what they are in other instances, nor do any peculiar considerations belong to the case, adding to, or qualifying the statement, that a person of the class in question, like other persons, in being a good friend, makes excellent use of christian principles,

and becomes a great benefactor.—I proceed therefore to speak of duties of the same class, belonging to them, in a wider relation, that of members of society. And here the great consideration is one, which I thank God many of them do not overlook, though possibly some of their number, as well as some who are not of their number, may. While other persons are members of society for mutual improvement and service, they are not members of it merely for their own pleasure and display. God forbid that they should be, or should be thought to be. No! let them seek with a reasonable, and that too they will find the most successful aim, to invest themselves with that peculiar attractiveness which God has made to belong to their age and sex. It is right and becoming that they should do so. But let them not meanwhile forget that they are exposed, and short-lived, and intelligent, and immortal, and accountable beings as much as any of the rest of us; that, as much as any of us, they have solemn duties to do, and souls, formed for happiness or misery, to save. I do not think, that I am liable here to be misunderstood, as if I were an indiscriminating ranter against the pleasures of society. There are few things, which for myself I like better. The pleasures of society, rightly sought and profited by, are the pleasures of taste, and intellect, and benevolence, and these are noble parts and prerogatives of our nature. No! as much grace, and ease, and accomplishment, and fascination even, as you will,—the more the better, provided better things are not sacrificed in their attainment or use;—and I do not find that they have

commonly the least of them, who have the most of what, taken for their basis, gives them a substantial worth. But let not any, if any such there should ever be, who allow fops and not men or women of sense to have the excitement and direction of their feeble and worthless ambition,—whose most serious comparison of opinions is with their dress-maker,—let not any such suppose that they are finishing the work which providence has given to them to do. Providence has dealt more kindly with them. What reason have they to think it so averse as to have condemned them alone to such a deplorable condition of unprofitableness? No! if others are bound to be rational, and thoughtful, and useful,—if others are invited to be happy, so are they. If others are able to go into society to improve and purify while they grace it, so, with the proper pains, are they in their measure,—and their measure is an ample one; for the very attractions, the sense of which, if they are light-minded, may bewilder them,—give them a vast power to influence the tastes, and sentiments, and characters of the other sex. Here is a trust of very serious magnitude. The moral influence, which by favor of the interest it excites, the female mind, duly enlightened and conscientious, may exert in a community over those whose characters are fixing, and who are presently to have the direction of its affairs, is altogether beyond estimation. Does the task, again, appointed to others, comprehend duties of good neighborhood and charity, and services to the faith of Christ in various forms of good word or work, as opportunity permits or guides, so does the task ap-



pointed to them. That is all an error, which they have sometimes seemed to assume for truth. They have no mark set upon them as incapable and worthless exempts from honorable and happy duty. But, on the contrary, in devotion to it, they become peculiarly efficient and blessed agents of the divine goodness, and they find for themselves the happiness, which, sought in any other path, will prove a phantom, forever flitting before their vision, and eluding their grasp.

It is plain that the remarks, which I have been making, would be irrelevant in the connexion in which I introduced them, if I did not conceive that the leading traits of the character, of which a feeble sketch has been given, were to be recognized in the young person whose recent departure has called forth such an uncommon expression of public feeling, in tokens of cordial respect for her memory, and sympathy with her afflicted friends. If I present an example to the imitation of others similarly circumstanced, as I freely profess to have been doing, it is not in the way of presuming that it may have been faultless. I never knew one which was so,—and if we must wait till we could find such an one, all the benefit of such impulse as example is capable of affording, would be lost. Nor do I undertake to single out this as more complete than others. Far be the arrogance of such a discrimination from me. The belief that there were many such would be a very grateful one. But to cause an example to be produced to the best advantage, it must be conspicuous as well as worthy. It would be to less purpose for me to adduce it, however ex-

cellent and admirable, had it been witnessed only by myself or a few whom I was addressing, leaving the accuracy of the representation to be taken upon trust. But I have felt called upon to present it with distinctness, because it by no means often happens that the character of a young woman, possessing that delicate modesty without which the example would be wanting in a chief grace, is, through favouring circumstances, known and estimated by so many ; and the very interesting event of the first inroad made by death upon the number of those who are carrying on that excellent work of christian usefulness, the management of our Sunday School, demands its own special notice. There are very many volumes which contain much less meaning than the single sentence, which records that a young spirit, after beautifully finishing the work of a daughter, sister, friend, and christian benefactor, has gone to its reward ; and the bright image of the course which has been run, demands to be held up to close and steady view, before, in any memory which recognizes the likeness, time shall have obscured any of its lines.\*

We naturally give the name of a mystery to the early removal of one, before whom life seemed all to lie a sunny scene of enjoyment, christian duty, and genuine honor. And certainly the greatest of all mysteries would it be, if, in the providence of him who

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\* What was written of the sermon ends here. When I was desired by the Society's Committee to print it, my remembrance of the concluding part was imperfect. I have recovered the train of remark as well as I could, making a connexion wherever I could not recollect what had been used.

has all worlds for the sphere of his administration, and all ages for the development of his plans, events did not occur, which refused to reveal their reasons of infinite wisdom and love to us who "are but of yesterday, and know nothing." But upon the else dark paths of God's government, the light of his word, acquainting us with the principles of that government, has been made to shine; and as often as we have observed a happy consequence to follow upon any of the gloomiest of his appointments, we have detected one reason, for which, in his parental goodness, he suffered them to befall. The Father of Spirits "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men," but "for their profit,"—and the profit, let us add, of all who witness and feel for their grief,—“that they may be partakers of his holiness.” “By the sadness of the countenance, the heart is made better,” and the sadness which is made to overspread many countenances, is meant to sanctify many hearts. “None of us liveth to himself,” and if dispensations, which fill our breasts with sorrow, have at the same time the effect of extensively impressing profitable lessons of truth and duty, then we have found a use for which a good God designed them. “No man dieth to himself.” And when we call to mind that the more important and valued the life which has been closed, and the more unlooked for the fatal blow, the stronger too has been the feeling called forth, and the impression made the more extensive, serious, and improving,—when we perceive, that what we have called the mysterious dealing of the divine Arbiter with one, is capable of such a relation to the best in-

terests of numbers, we can no longer say that we are without a clue to the elucidation of his purposes.

I trust, my hearers, that there are those of us who intend thus far to qualify the meaning, with which we call that under our notice, an inscrutable event. I trust we do not intend to allow the true feeling, which to-day possesses us, to begin and end in fruitless sorrow, or natural sympathy. Children of this society! I should do great violence to my own feelings, as well as appear insensible, which it is impossible that I should be, to the special interest of the occasion, if I did not try to say, in a few friendly words, how affectingly it addresses you. Fifteen years ago, when I came hither, our sister was a little playful child, with a character as much in its element,—at all events, as little tried,—as that of almost any of yourselves;—and now she has gone down in her youth to an honored grave, and the tears which have been rained over that grave, were tears of proud and satisfied affection; and as, from one spring to another, the steps of mourners will turn towards it, their hearts will swell with a grateful blessing to God, that the image, which always dwells freshly there, is the image of a life well devoted to life's best objects. For that it is, and nothing else, which has given so profound an interest to so brief and uneventful a history. That it is, which gave to a life so short, a termination which you have seen to be so lamented;—that it is, which gives to the memory of that life the place of affectionate veneration, which you have found to be held by it in many hearts. The tribute is not to the possession of ad-

vantages, in possessing which, the departed was distinguished from any of you, but simply to christian excellence exhibited in her, which all of you may emulate. She was thus prized, and is thus mourned, because she was a good child ; a good sister ; a good friend, in one sense to those who were privileged by her intimacy, and in another, to all whom she could serve ; and she was all these, because she was a good christian. It was the loveliness of the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus, which shone out in her life, and is a halo around her blessed memory. Because she could say, "I fear the Lord from my youth," therefore it now remains to be said of her, with such a strong conviction of extraordinary appropriateness in the words, that she

"Ne'er knew joy, but friendship might divide,  
Nor gave her parents pain, but when she died."

You, too, my young friends, desire to make the happiness of those to whom you are dear while you live, and to leave them consolation when you die, if, in the reversal of what we call the order of nature, they should come to need such a resource. There is one way, in which you can accomplish that wish. It is by walking in that path of religious wisdom, which is for yourselves too, the only path of pleasantness and peace. It is by cultivating that fear of God, which to the youngest is the simple beginning of wisdom, and to the oldest, its consummation and crown, as the truly wise uniformly own.

Parents ! it cannot be but that, reflecting on our relation, we sometimes think of the need, which, in

one or the other form, we must sooner or later experience ; either the need, summoned to resign the objects of our love, of some support under that bereavement, or else,—leaving them ourselves to the chances of the world—of an assurance that their lives, when we are no longer near to guide them, will be worthy and happy lives. That consolation or security, whichever the need may prove, it belongs to us to be even now providing ; and—true in our exertions to the greatness of the object,—we are able, with God’s blessing, richly to provide it. The provision will cost pains, but it will reward them. Rear up our children “in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,”—teach them in all things to “remember their Creator in the days of their youth,”—and then we shall find availing comforts present with us after the bitter moment when we have closed their eyes, or shall commend them without anxiety to the blessing of him, whom we have served together, in the last prayer which breaks the silence of our own chamber of death.

The young persons of this congregation, who mourn a greatly valued associate, in that excellent office of religious instruction to which I have referred, and others who have sympathized with her in the persuasion, that happiness is to be found in christian duty, true honor in christian usefulness, perceive themselves to be addressed with a peculiarly touching notice of the necessity of that religious preparation for life or death, at which they are aiming ; and they feel with peculiar sensibility the attractiveness of that eminent example of the religious character in

youth, which, lately before them in active and happy life, they are henceforward to contemplate only in respectful memory. Those of you, my friends, who have communed with the departed, in counsels, prayers, and efforts for the building up of Christ's kingdom in those minds of which he himself said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," grateful, as I am sure you are, for the privileges of that communion, and for those of its influences upon yourselves, which no separation from one another, of those whom it has united, can destroy, will own yourselves to be strongly called on, by this sad proof of the insecurity of earthly hopes, to secure seasonably and amply that better part, which never can be taken away from you. And all, I trust, who have been growing up together here from infancy, till they have come to step upon the threshold of active life, will be prompted to ask themselves the question, whether, while some have, through these all-important years, been walking "in wisdom, redeeming the time," the same is to be said of them; whether the influences, under which the services of this place of their united devotions, combined with other agencies in the providence and grace of God, should have brought them, have been and are in action on their hearts. Has your course, too,—let me be permitted to inquire of each young hearer, whose steps here have been side by side with the departed,—has your course too been such, in these precious years, as to entitle you in some degree, to the testimony of conscience, that you have finished the work given you thus far to do? You have had the same time, which has been so profitably

used. Have you, too, been mindful to employ it well? If so, greatly happy are you in the enjoyment of that reflection. If not, happy are you, that your day and means of grace are not yet withdrawn; and be conjured not to delay an hour to put them to the indispensable uses of repentance for the past, and resolutions of a new life for the future.

Citizens of this community! greatly blessed are you, rich cause have you for gratitude to God, that you live and bring up your children where the sense of the worth of youthful excellence, and the standard of youthful character, are so high; where truly estimable qualities in the young are what above all things attract esteem and consideration, and the loss of one eminently their possessor, is feelingly owned to be a public calamity. Such sentiments are not more honorable to their object, than auspicious to the best good of those who entertain them. Assuredly, my friends, there is no care by which you can more promote the common good, than by endeavours to maintain this sense of character among the young, as far as it is already correct and high, and to advance it to a still further justness and elevation.

——“I have finished the work thou hast given me to do.” Yes! in one sense the work is finished. Morning will rise and evening gather its shadows over that new made grave, but the one will not disturb, and the other will not compose the peaceful sleeper. Evening will no longer send her from the happy fireside to the quiet slumbers of an unburdened conscience. Morning will not call her back to the tasks of filial, sisterly, and Christian love. But how



speak we of the work of a good life being finished ?  
 She of whom we have used the words, now looks  
 back upon what we call death, and knows it to be  
 only, to use the language of a kindred spirit, "an in-  
 cident in life." Earth has no mounds to confine the  
 soul. The sentence is, that "the dust shall return to  
 the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God  
 who gave it." The spirit has already gone to higher,  
 more unembarrassed, more intense, more joyful life.  
 The voice, which, on the wings of its soul-harmony,  
 has so often lifted our devotions here to the sphere to  
 which it seemed to belong, is already, we trust, lend-  
 ing its rich and volumed sweetness to swell the an-  
 them of the redeemed "I heard a voice from heaven,  
 saying unto me ;—Blessed are the dead which die in  
 the Lord. Yea, saith the spirit, for they rest from their  
 labors, and their works do follow them." "They  
 shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither  
 shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the  
 Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne, shall lead  
 them unto living fountains of waters, and God shall  
 wipe away all tears from their eyes."

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THE WORTHY STUDENT OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

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# S E R M O N

PREACHED IN

THE CHAPEL OF THAT INSTITUTION,

ON

LORD'S DAY AFTERNOON,

MARCH 23, 1834.

BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.  
PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

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## S E R M O N .

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ECCLESIASTES, II. 13.

I SAW THAT WISDOM EXCELLETH FOLLY, AS FAR AS LIGHT EXCELLETH DARKNESS.

AFTER I last addressed you in this place, my friends, it occurred to me to presume upon the patience with which I had been listened to, to ask your attention, when next we should meet, to a subject which naturally connects itself with what was then under our notice.\* I trust that on the distant grave-stone of one of those whom then we commemorated, is to be inscribed, among his other titles to honorable remembrance, that he was a *worthy son of Harvard College*. Over the other no such record can be graven. Not the green turf, — the shrine of the bereft heart's daily pilgrimage, — closed over his form, but the green wave, which in its sullen, desolate sequestration from man and his habitations, his uses, his works, and his fortunes, refuses to bear so much as a trace of human fates or feelings. Yet none the less for this, does the thought

\* See Appendix.

of him too associate itself with the subject I propose, in the minds of those, to whom, whatever they witnessed of worth in him, was revealed in the relation of fellow-students in this place. I invite you to accompany me in some consideration of the obligations, which the wisdom we are all inclined to extol, imposes on those who have recourse to her for guidance, in meeting the claims of that situation. Besides the duties common to men, my hearers, we are all bound to such, as are incident to relations which we severally sustain. The duties of the relation alluded to, are capable of being defined ; and though they are, of course, essentially the same, which are incumbent on those who resort to other places of instruction, yet I would ask, for the greater simplicity's sake, and because I am to address none but members of this institution, to be allowed to pursue the subject in the limited form in which it has been stated.

I. And, first, guided by the text, which contrasts the wisdom it extols, with folly, I would treat the subject, in a few words, negatively, as was the manner of the old preachers, showing, in a few particulars, what a worthy student of this institution is not.

1. He is not a profligate.

Apart from other considerations, to which I may directly have occasion to refer in a different connexion, he deems too highly of the rights of the mind, to be willing to submit his to the odious and despicable slavery of appetite. If any are to drudge in that ignoble, hard, and all unrewarded service,

he thinks it should be such as have not had his opportunities to acquire a reverence for the mind which they so profane, — a fit sense of its dignity, and of the dignity of its proper pursuits. Having had some enjoyment of the vigor of a clear, sound reason, he has no notion of becoming a driveller, quite so soon, as licentious practices might make him. Having seen some charms in the lights which the imagination pours, he has no idea of clouding that purely radiant sun within him, with the fat, foul fumes of intemperate indulgence. Having obtained some relish for the satisfactions of a taste,

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‘ Feelingly alive  
To each fine impulse, a discerning sense  
Of decent and sublime,’

he does not mean that the grand and beautiful in nature and art, when they pass before his vision, shall be presented to overplied, and obtuse, and vulgarized perceptions, as incapable of catching their more delicate lineaments, as a leaden surface would be of taking the nicer touches of the graver’s art. He has some apprehension of the kind of work, which a calm, cheerful self-reliance was intended to do in the world ; and he will not easily be won to adopt prematurely in its place, the timid, resourceless, nervous debility, which, — while, varied with spasms of rashness as little respectable, it is a temper which a libertine youth is making haste to form, — is never excusable, but when it is witnessed in a palsied age. In taking such just and manly views, he finds himself here, I am sure, in very well accredited and numerous company. Without, I

trust, going out of my way to form or express an opinion, yet having had some opportunity of acquaintance with similar institutions at home and abroad, and been pretty well acquainted with this for nearly a quarter of a century, I am ready, for one, in all times and places, to make and stand by the assertion, as far as such opportunities may justify it, — and that, as being within the limits of truth, — that this institution, in the respect in question, has reason to fear comparison with no other, nor with itself at any previous date within the same term of years. Reasoning back from apparent results, one might even suppose that to keep its character free from any stain of this sort, had grown up, among those who give a tone to its sentiments and practices, into something like a point of honor.

2. If the person whom we are describing is not a profligate, no more is he an idler.

He will no more consent to do nothing with his time, than to do mischief with it. He is influenced by high and effectual motives to diligence. And he cannot have been long here, before he sees ample reason to rejoice that he is so, taking nothing but his present daily comfort into view. If he had begun by trying the experiment, he has found for himself, — if happily he have not tried it, he may have learned from, or observed in others, or his own good sense alone may have shown him, — that a college, after a prison and a ship, is the dullest of all conceivable places to kill time in. Those who might otherwise help him to dispose of it agreeably, — whose society would offer some immediate at-

traction, or, at all events, would afford some sufficient resource, — he sees, for a general rule, all too busy, to give any one aid in the task, so much more unmanageable than theirs, of living on without an object ; while those who are on that search for themselves, he perceives, have, for a general rule, little capacity to yield another relief under the burden of unoccupied hours. As he has no inclination to be miserable for the years which he has to pass here, so he will give way to no inclination to be a drone. If he had no better reason for being diligent, he would see cause to be so here, on the principle of self-defence against intolerable weariness and discontent. The resources of the place for getting rid of one's time, are those of agreeable intellectual employment. He who would find others, will be more in the way to what he seeks, by directing his attention elsewhere.

3. Again ; the person of whom we are speaking is not impatient of authority.

That there should be authority in such an institution, and submission to it, he sees is indispensable to its being carried on. If it is to be, it is to be administered. If it is to operate at all, it is in such uniform and methodical mode of operation, as nothing but regulations, prescribing the course of those connected with it in all ranks, can secure. He is disposed to place a candid, respectful confidence in the wisdom and honest intentions of those entrusted with the devising and the application of such rules, knowing that they have been selected from the whole community, as persons competent



in both respects to the work ; selected by those, who in this matter represent that community, whose tenderest and most anxious cares are for its youth ; which would be more sensitive to nothing else, than to a danger of its youth being injudiciously or hardly treated. He endeavors to see, and is disposed favorably to estimate, the reasons of their acts ; and as often as those reasons, understood sufficiently, approve themselves to his own dispassionate judgment, his feelings and determinations will ask no more, but promptly go along with his conviction. If, in any case, he fails of such satisfaction, still he does not disguise from himself that at least his judgment is less experienced, and may be less impartial, and may not be in possession of all facts needful wisely to decide it ; and that they whose acts have not pleased him, are at least acting under influences disposing them to seek the right, because to find the right is an object intimately concerning their own interest and fame, and are certainly acting under a high and distinct responsibility before the public, which would not allow them in a course incapable of being defended to its satisfaction. Again ; he remembers that he came hither, and remains here, voluntarily, because for some reasons of his own cognizance, he has thought it, on the whole, best to come and remain ; and enjoying the privileges he sought here, he would not desire to withhold observance of the conditions, on which alone they were offered by those authorised to allow or to deny them. Or if he came hither by the will of others, and not by his own, still, coming, he re-

members that he put his own hand to an engagement, by which, as a man of honor, he sees himself to be bound, in all to which its terms extend. He means that his word shall be as good as any man's. However much, or however little reason he may see cause to respect other things and other people, his own word, once passed, he does respect, and he means that other people shall always have reason to respect it.

4. Though a point, no doubt, of inferior importance to those which have been touched upon, still, as one of serious practical moment, I will add, while speaking of what the person under our notice is not, that he is not inclined to undertake the guidance of his own studies.

He does not think it enough to plead, that he is diligent, but chuses to be diligent in his own way. He understands that modesty is a part of wisdom ; that, in youth or in age, there is no being wise without it ; and he is willing to suppose it probable that his own way might not be the best way to be diligent in. It would be very extraordinary, if it should be so ; if they who had been over the same ground which he is now traversing, and much more beyond it,—who had both the lights on which he relies, and other lights which they had been longer seeking, — who were able to look back, and with the advantages of youthful and mature experience both, to discern the needs of the ripening mind, — the business of whose lives it was, to come to just results in the decision of this question, — were able to give him no valuable aid of the kind he may have thought of rejecting.

His choice, in rejecting it, would seem to be merely that of the navigator, who should leave behind him, at home, the charts already provided for him at great expense of time and pains, and repeated anxieties and embarrassments of earlier voyagers, preferring to discover the headlands, and take the soundings, and project the charts for himself, as he went. Such a navigator might, it is true, and he might not, make his voyage safely in sufficient time ; but at the best, others would, meanwhile, have returned with their cargoes of the commodity of which he went in quest, — or, having used his time without finding his destined port, he would have to return with such inferior wares as he might have picked up by the way, — and, in either case, would lose the advantage of the market.

II. Having glanced at the folly mentioned in the text, in the local aspect I proposed, let us, secondly, turn our attention to the wisdom, which, if it conform to the condition expressed, ought to excel the folly, as much as light excelleth darkness. And here, as it would be undertaking an endless task, to enter into the details of conduct becoming in the relation in question, and as I am addressing such, as, when principles are before them, need no aid in discerning their requisite applications to practice, let me speak rather of impulses, under which the wisdom, which is so excellent, requires a person, so circumstanced, to act. And not to propose too wide a range of view, let us confine ourselves to the impulses of a just ambition for one's self, a just regard to the claims of others, and a desire of the divine approbation.

### 1. Of a just ambition for one's self.

A young man, arrived at the age when he has betaken himself to some place of public education, is capable of discerning the relations of his present to his future years. And, being capable of such discernment, he discerns that closely in proportion to the manner, in which he is using the passing time, will be the prospects under which he is to enter upon life, and the eventual enjoyments and consequence he may hope for in it. He knows, that his history, if by and bye it could be written, would be a profoundly moving record. He knows, that his coming experience is to be full of powerful interest. And what is to be the character of that history, for honor or for shame — what is to be the happiness or misery of that unavoidable experience, — is a question which is now awaiting his determination. Awaiting, do I say? No; rather extorting his determination. Time will not stop, while he deliberates. The question is one, which he whom it concerns is even now resolving. He has no other discretion, than what respects the answer he shall give. As to the world which he is by and bye to be better acquainted with, he sees reason to give credit to his hopes, that much of the good of which experience has told, and which poetry, in its more natural moods, has sung, is really to be witnessed and enjoyed there; and as to much of the necessary evil, with which, according to other representations, that good is alloyed, he is inclined to think, that often the fault was in him who found it, and that a less devious search would have been better recompensed, and that often it is the senti-

ment in such representations, rather than their truth, which has caused them to be made. Believing that the world has something worth having and worth seeking, he sees himself moving forward towards his place in a society, which holds out all its prizes to wise, and strenuous, and well-principled personal endeavor, — in which nothing of privilege in his social relations can come to a man by the accident of birth, excepting only that wealth, which is very likely to do him a prejudice, by tempting him to a neglect of what here are more effective powers ; which there is nothing of legal institution to protect against the consequences of his own incapacity or extravagance ; and which, when it is superfluous, — such are the frugal customs of our society, — he can hardly find a use for, in expenses upon himself, so that, unless he be disposed to dispense it in benevolent appropriations, it will be only the source of just so much more perplexity and solicitude, rolling back upon him, like the ‘ huge round stone ’ of old, with its demand for another sore toil to lift it to its place, almost as soon as he has struggled through the last. He rejoices to see, that he ‘ so runs, as not uncertainly ; ’ that, in such a state of things, what he most cares for, rightly striving, he will not fail to win. He sees that, in an enlightened community, prizes such as he covets are to be won by enlightened men. He sees, that, as much is expected of, so much is reserved for, and yielded to, those who have enjoyed and employed advantages for intellectual culture. For all this, more or less, he is ostensibly a candidate ; and being a candidate, he does not mean, by

and bye, to be a discomfited and despised one. Whatever educated men among us are expected to be, and do, and gain, he is aware is inevitably to be expected before long of him, as one of their number ; and he has a wise prospective sense of the mortification and disgrace, which would attend the confession or experiment of his incompetency. Without disparagement to other similar institutions of his country, it may be safely said that he sees himself here in possession of some peculiar advantages ; and what he sees, others will see equally, when he comes by and bye to be more subjected to their observation, and will judge of his pretensions conformably to a standard so reasonably assumed.

Is it not so, my friends ? What is there in the world before you, worth having, which, according to the measure of your respective natural powers, you may not have, if you will, using well the advantages, of which here you are possessed ; and are there not tasks of service, which others may honorably decline, and distinctions which they may honorably fall short of, which could not with decency and good credit be avoided, or lost, by us ? And further ; he who should think not at all of anything in the way of external advantage, which the stores here to be laid up in the mind may hereafter procure for him,—who should extend his view to nothing, but the private satisfactions he will always feel in their possession, their use, and enlargement ; the heightened sense of character which they give ; the conscious elevation of intellectual dignity, and conscious security of intellectual supports ; the power which

they convey of always commanding for one's self agreeable employment, as well as of enlightening, pleasing, and guiding others; the sober, sagacious, and efficient habits of mind which they teach, applicable to use in all the practical business of life; the calmness and hopefulness, with which they train one to look on this shifting scene; in short, the wealth of independent inward resource, which they convey, to meet the exigences of our changing human fortunes;—who that extends his view to these alone, would not be somewhat covetously ambitious to secure for himself the greatest attainable amount of that, in quest of which he is understood to have come to this place?

2. But, secondly, it is by no means of himself alone, that he of whom we are speaking supposes he has a right to think. He sees himself here no obscure, nor insignificant, nor unrelated person, but belonging to others, acting under a high and diversified responsibility; and if sense of responsibility is apt to convey a sense of character, such a sense of character he sees that it belongs to him tenderly to feel.

He considers his friends.—They who must provide for him have been at great, perhaps inconvenient and burdensome expense, requiring even much economy and some privation on their part, to secure to him the advantages which here he is enjoying. They expect their reward, in seeing him come forward favorably into life, an honor to them and a blessing to others; and of that reward he does not see himself at liberty to defraud them, or to allow it to be any less ample than the richest that he can possibly make it. And

other friends, who are sending after him affectionate thoughts and wishes, and looking at his progress with hope, and,—if he will allow it to be so,—with pride, have a similar, if a feeblér claim, which he could not, without losing something of his self-respect, suspect himself to be capable of disregarding.

He considers those who have been appointed to oversee and aid his studies, and he takes for granted that for whatever they may faithfully do, they look for part of their compensation in seeing that it is also successfully done; a result which, however, does not depend on their endeavors alone, but on his endeavors combined with theirs. Money, if they had more of it, is not apt to be regarded by a right-minded man as a sufficient fruit of his conscientious pains-taking,—certainly not in a sphere of intellectual action; and if, when they have honestly done their part, he has neglected to do his, and so they have no more to show for their labor, than if they had withholden it, he owns that with justice they might bitterly complain of a wrong, experienced at his hands.

He considers his associates.—His society here was not of their seeking, and therefore for the consequences of the mere fact of having fallen into it, he cannot think of making them responsible. It is not their fault, that they are in his company. Whether it shall prove to be their happiness or unhappiness, is in great part for himself to say. He sees himself unavoidably entrusted with a great power over them. The power of communication and example are always great; and never greater,



than when recommended by the attractive graces of youth on the one part, and experienced by the sanguine frankness and confidence of youth on the other. He hopes always to look back, — others have said they do so, — to the formation and enjoyment of college friendships, as among the happiest passages of his life; and to the end that he may never have anything but satisfaction, — that he may never have compunctious visitings, — in that retrospect, he intends now to take care that none shall ever have it to say that his friendship was a calamity to them, but that, on the contrary, as many as possible shall have it to say, — and that, too, as cordially and gratefully as possible, — that he was always a benefactor to them, in respect to their principles and habits, as well as to their present pleasures. He would like to meet, hereafter, as many as may be, in the walks of life, who should have occasion to testify, that at an age when all influence was peculiarly important, they never experienced any but what was good from him.

He thinks of the community. — It looks on all its youth with an intense solicitude; and it means to demand of each one of them, in good time, according to the measure of his powers, place, and acquisitions, — in the post of honor of a public or of a private station, — such service as, under the influence of a liberal public spirit, he shall be found capable of rendering. And certainly it has not been at such pains to accumulate for him such an apparatus of means for mental cultivation, and is not at such pains, year by year, in its highest quarters,

to superintend their improvement and use, so that he may have their utmost benefit, — without intending to demand from him its large equivalent, in true service to all its high interests, in those select spheres of action, where man is to act most vigorously, widely, and beneficently.

He owns some obligations to the patrons, on whose high-souled bounty he is living and learning here ; from the full-handed generosity of the prince and the prelate, the noble and the sage, to the no less enlightened and hearty, if less furnished zeal for letters, which did not feel itself too poor, and, in its poverty, would not allow itself to be too falsely proud, to come hither with its dedicated contribution of the widow's single mite. I know not which is more moving, whether the impatient anxiety of the first Christian dwellers on this soil, to provide for those interests of the mind, to which they were wise enough to see that all other interests are but consequents and subjects, and to build a temple for learning and Christianity, while as yet they had hardly built a hut for themselves,—or the filial perseverance of so many of their children in later times, evinced in the proportion of more affluent means, to sustain and enlarge the seasonable endowment; whether the far-reaching and well-provided beneficence of those illustrious friends to liberty, truth, goodness, and their race, who turned their keen eyes, and stretched their loaded hands to us across the ocean, the Hollises, the Holdens, and others fitly named along with them, — or the hardly but magnanimously earned, the hardly but cheerfully spared gifts, of a few shil-

lings, a quantity of cloth, a number of sheep, even a flagon, a trencher, a spoon,\* by which others, in our day of small things, took care to show, that, as far as they were concerned, every man, neither ashamed to do his little, nor backward to do his much, should do his part towards the great object; — ‘contributions,’ well says our historian, ‘from pious, virtuous, enlightened penury, to the noblest of all causes,’ — and contributions, let us add, of the buried, unseen, unremembered basis, without which the magnificent superstructure would not now be standing. I know not, I say, in which of its thus varied aspects, the high charity, on which our minds are now fed, is most moving; but I understand nothing of the constitution of that mind, which, contemplating it in either aspect, is not moved to firm resolve, that, for itself, the generosity, so devoted, shall not prove to have been expended in vain.

Such is at least the resolution of him of whom we are speaking; and as he considers the just claims of those, to whose pious bounty he here stands so much indebted, so he considers, again, them who have preceded him here in the enjoyment of the advantages which that procured,—the wise, and great, and holy, who from generation to generation have drunk in their spirits’ best inspiration on this spot; — those *star-bearers* on our catalogue, so many of them, if I may reverently say it, now sceptre-bearers in the courts of heaven. His thought is, that we, who have come

\* Pierce’s History of Harvard College, p. 17.

here into their place, and they who have gone higher, all make one brotherhood. We bear the name they bore. We have professedly taken up with them a common cause. We ought to be animated by a common spirit. As we glory in their characters and labors, as if they belonged to us, he thinks that, if heavenly spirits may look on earthly things, they are equally intent on ours, — solicitous for ours, if heavenly spirits may be, — as if we too belonged to them.

‘Rapt in celestial transport, they,  
Yet hither oft a glance from high  
They send of tender sympathy,  
To bless the place, where on their opening soul  
First the genuine ardor stole.’

He thinks of the posterity, which by a forward-reaching mind is always making heard its imperiously awful claim, in tones resounding and re-resounding through the dim vastness of its still widening dominion; the posterity, which influences going forth from this place are undoubtedly to bless or to ban. If it be true, that, under providence, human affairs are subject to the management of human minds; if it be true, that, according as they are managed, consequences worthy of serious consideration, pregnant with grave meaning, will result; if it be a fact, that over human destiny, as we call it, there presides an earthly sovereign, even principled wisdom; that truth and righteousness are the elements of public and universal well-being and advance; if it be indubitable, that truth and righteousness, if they have any dwelling, must

dwell in individual minds and hearts ; and if it be true, that educated men are able to do something to push on their empire, and attract them worshippers ; — then it is true, that there is something, which each and every educated man ought to look upon posterity as imploring at his hands. If it be true ? That which was once future is now history, and it has written down its answer to that question. It has recorded, that it is true. All which ever has been worthily done, was once to be done ; and unless they, who have done it, had given the heed, of which I am speaking, to the demands which the future was making on them, accomplished it never would have been. We, my friends, have much to do in this way, if we would not shame our forerunners here. What this our country has done for the cause of man, others might much better estimate ; I presume not to have a judgment on it. But, of what it has done, more or less, I venture to ask your attention to the inquiry, how much had its germ and origin at the spot where we stand ; and to suggest, that if we, of this college, mean to endeavor to do, for the future, anything like what was done, by our predecessors of this college, for what is past to us, but was future to them, we have taken no small work in hand. ‘ If I am able to judge,’ said, at the beginning of the last century, a clergyman of the neighboring city,\* than whom the institution never had a more serviceable friend, — ‘ if I am able to judge, no place of education can well boast a more free air than our little college may ; and when I visited the famous universities in England, I was proud of my

\* Dr. Colman.

own humble education here in our Cambridge, because of the Catholic spirit I had there breathed in.' And the fruit of that discipline of leading minds had made itself acknowledged, when an English statesman, in recent years, declared that the so early establishment of this college hastened the American revolution half a century. 'The remark was strong; but let him who would gainsay it, look into our colonial history, and see where he will find his materials for doing so.—A political revolution is a tangible thing, and its causes are capable of scrutiny and estimation. Not equally so are many other things and events, intimately concerning the honor and welfare of a nation or an age. But let any one undertake, in the way of cause and effect, to connect any department of what belongs to the prosperity and dignity of the society in which we live, with influences which have gone forth, in time past, from this spot, he will find, on the most cautious calculation, that if he does not mean to be recreant to its ancient fame, he has something else to do besides fold his arms, and allow posterity to take care of itself.

3. I have been led so unexpectedly far by this topic, that I have left myself no time to treat the last, on which it was my purpose to enlarge. I remember, however, that unlike others, which have been now before us, it is constantly receiving our attention in some of its forms, and that much of what has now been said, in other connexions, has a bearing upon this. I must content myself with merely stating some heads of remarks, which I had designed to make, in the place of pursuing them.

The person, of whom we are speaking, will go about the duties of the relation which he sustains, under the impulse of the fear of God, first and mainly, because he knows, that neither for himself nor for any other human being, where he is nor elsewhere, in youth nor age, in time nor eternity, is there any hope of happiness, except in the culture, and the consequences of the culture, of that sentiment ; but, on the contrary, an appallingly fearful looking for of judgment, in its place.—He perceives that he, more than others, ought to be expected to be moved by that great goodness of God, evinced when, by his own inspiration, he gave man understanding, designating him to dominion over other earthly creatures, appointing him a place a little lower than the angels ; because he, more than others, who toil on the dusty highway of life, may be supposed to have learned what a noble and bliss-giving class of endowments the intellectual are.—He feels, that if the peculiarly privileged in condition are bound to entertain a peculiar gratitude to the overseeing providence, which disposes of men, the obligation to such a gratitude is on him, permitted to devote his youth without interruption to the most liberal pursuits, and placed upon that way into life, that lands at its most honorable trusts and eligible circumstances. God has been very gracious to him. He sees it, or he is blind. He is touched and excited by it, or he is unfeeling.—He is sensible that, with the preparation of his superior intellectual training, and consequent enlargement of mind, it will be his own fault if he do not find even

higher pleasures, than others, in this respect less privileged, in religious meditations; being able to form some less unworthy conceptions, than they, of the objects on which those meditations turn. And, on the other hand, he is satisfied that he will be doing a cruel wrong to that intellectual nature he so prizes,—that he will weaken and pervert, at least that he will not properly guide, strengthen, and feed it, nor ever know all its versatility, opulence, and power, — unless he take care to give it the advantage of that healthiest discipline, which only the religious spirit is able to apply. — In his speculations upon that generosity, which is deservedly such a favorite quality with youth, he has perceived, that if the word be used for an attribute of feeling, piety is at once the highest style of generosity, and, if we may further distinguish, its most reasonable and happiest form; and he has had the perspicacity to discern, from reasons of the case, and induction of such facts as have been before him, that any principle short of it, is a very miserable furniture for the tasks, and the trials, and the struggles, and the enjoyments of the world. — It animates him to think, that, acting in its own lofty and disinterested spirit, the accomplishments he has been permitted to acquire, make him capable of rendering better service to religion, than others, with the best dispositions, have to offer; that already, for good or evil, he has great power in this respect, over the little world around him, and that directly, in the greater world, he is to be one of the watchmen of public sentiment, and guardians of private character. — He has speculated sometimes,



— who in his circumstances has not ? — on the perfect conception of a man ; and he has settled it to be the idea of one, in whom the intellectual and moral powers, which ally the human with superior existences, are broadly and evenly developed, — the life of the mind and the life of God, mutually sustained and quickened. His books have taught him this of good, — in addition to much else, — that in that bright idea there is no fictitious combination.

‘ Learning hath borne such fruit in other days,  
On all her branches ; piety hath found  
Friends in the friends of science, and true prayer  
Hath flowed from lips wet with Castalian dew.’

That is the example, which fills his mind and satisfies his heart. That is the example, which now and always he would exhibit, not to challenge others’ admiring praise, but for the much better end of attracting the zealous imitation of every one whose sight it may bless.

## A P P E N D I X .

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THE allusion on the first page is to the death of Mr Frederic William Hoffman, son of David Hoffman, Esq. of Baltimore, who died at Lyons, in France, Dec. 9th last, and to that of Mr William Chapman, son of the late Jonathan Chapman, Esq. of Boston, who died at sea on his passage to the Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 24th; the former a member of the Junior Class, the latter of the Sophomore. The sermon preached on the Lord's day after intelligence of the death of one had been received, and a eulogy had been pronounced on the other in the College Chapel, was from the text; 'Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom.' Job xxviii, 28. The purpose of the Sophomore Class, who asked a copy for the press, will, I trust, be answered by the following extract.

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We may always be observing something of that excellent wisdom of the principle of the fear of God, which, in some of its chief characteristics, I have now been endeavoring to set forth. It is merely the fault of our own blindness, not of any eclipse or faintness of its lustre, if, at any time, we see it not. But part of the administration of God's providence has reference to this indistinctness of our perceptions. He takes care that we shall be enlightened, if we do not covet and seek the light, as we ought; and one of the benefits, conveyed to us, from time to time, at the heavy cost of missing from our side the wise and excellent in youth or in age, is, by effectually warning us to number our own days, to make us reflect on the high wisdom, to which it concerns our safety that our own hearts be applied; and, by compelling us to an

analysis of the qualities, which made them the objects of our respect and hope, to cause human affection to minister to the divine graces of the christian life. And this latter, as well as the former, which is more independent of us, is a use which every one should distinctly design and strive that his memory may serve, whenever it may please God that only by the influence of his remembered virtues, and no longer by his agency in life, he shall continue to do service in the world. Here is a great, a most substantial service; and one which needs not a long life to do. On the contrary, if youth be the season of life the most susceptible of influence, then he who, called early away, addresses youth with sanctifying influences of the memory which he leaves behind, is privileged so far to be a peculiarly efficient benefactor, when the places, which have known him, shall come to know him no more.

We could hardly have failed, my hearers, of a more than commonly distinct discernment of the truth of the doctrine I have been urging, while, two days ago, we contemplated the faithful portraiture, exhibited to us in this place, of a late valued associate of our studies. Faithful, I call it, in all its emphatic and high-wrought testimony to the worth which is departed; for so a most unanimous and cordial consent of all, who had special opportunity to estimate its correctness, declares it to have been, while those of us, whose privilege in this respect was less, find, on our part, that the idea filled out in the high praise we listened to, was the same, which, in its outlines, had been conveyed to our own minds, and call up, if with melancholy, yet with most grateful feelings, the recollection of the uncommon, — shall I say, the admiring interest, — which the partial developments to us, of a character, in all its aspects so beautiful, had inspired. Yes, my friends, opportunities very limited in respect to time, are sufficient, well used, to do vast and enduring good with. I doubt not, that an influence has already gone forth, from the life and death of him, whom lately you have mourned, which it is little to predict will be owned by many for a precious blessing to their latest earthly day.

While bereft and disappointed friendship was yet preparing to express with due commemoration its sense of its loss, other tidings of like sad tenor come to add to the solemn impressiveness of the lesson we were learning. If, in the one case, the bitter cup had to be drained, of witnessing the failure of all that was within the resources of the tenderest and most devoted domestic assiduity, in the other the sad consolation was denied, of ministering to the fainting frame, and of converse with the departing spirit. While, in this instance, too, attached companions see the instructions of life's mournful experience beginning to be addressed to them, a band of affectionate

brothers and sisters is now made to sorrow for a deservedly prized object of trusting and hopeful love. If he, who was earliest taken, but of whose departure we are last apprized, has not left vacant, in the parental heart, that place which it belongs to the virtues and the devotion of a son to fill, yet that parental heart, on which the heavy blow is now made to fall, is the already stricken one of a widowed mother. Of him, too, thank God, we are justified in saying, that his spring time gave flattering promise of a bountiful and substantial harvest. I find evidence among his companions, of the confidence, respect, and good will, with which, during the short time they enjoyed to make each other's acquaintance, his integrity and friendliness inspired them; and his instructors testify to his conscientiously diligent and successful attention to the proper pursuits of the place. I believe it all, and much more;—more, that is, in respect to what is not equally apparent. A relation, in which I once stood to him, gave me sufficient opportunities to know, that he came hither with principles, which, existing in such strength as that which they then showed in him, are not likely to be changed for the worse by a transfer to this place. I regarded him with peculiar interest,—as did others with similar means of information,—as a young person of uncommon purity and conscientiousness, amiableness, and force of character; who gave gratifying assurance in the qualities of his mind and heart, that he would profit richly by the advantages which here he was seeking; and that, when he should go hence, it would be to devote the ample acquisitions, which it was to be anticipated he would make, to none but high and commendable objects. He was confidently looked to, as one rising up to be an honor to his friends, and a blessing to others, in some important place of duty. I had occasion to be acquainted with the fact, that, in addition to other indications of a governing sense of duty, he was then uncommonly well versed, for his age, in what are most strictly called religious studies. And in this connexion I hold myself,—and hope I may be considered,—to speak emphatically in his praise, when I add, that, before coming hither, he had already been associated with others, in imparting to younger persons the religious instruction, of which, in earlier years, he had been himself the subject. He had been, I say, a teacher of a Sunday school; an office, which except under truly religious impulses, a person is not likely to undertake; an unassuming, but most efficient office of Christian benevolence, which I hope and believe,—and that on the ground of past experience,—that not a few, whom I address, will find themselves undertaking, when they shall have been dismissed from these walls, into a world, which will then directly place before them many of its diversified demands for useful action.

Eulogy is not my office ; but, having been led thus far, and having had opportunity to know how happily a life, so worthily begun, was closed, I venture to suppose that, in the absence of any more convenient channel for obtaining the information, his associates may be willing to receive from me some statements, relating to the termination of our young friend's history. If they affect other minds as they have affected mine, I shall look for no other reason for entering into such a detail. He left his home, in the vain hope of re-establishing his health under the influence of a milder climate, about the middle of last August. In the accounts, which his friends yesterday received, nothing is said of the first two weeks after his departure, except that his strength and spirits had revived in them to that degree, that he was observed to decline, as scarcely any longer an invalid, the little attentions which every one around him was prompt to offer. From this time, the weather of a warmer latitude manifestly increased his debility, and he was perceived to have abandoned all confident expectation of recovery ; though, till the twentysecond day of September, he continued daily to take the air upon the ship's deck. On the twenty-fourth, after being not materially more feeble than usual through the early part of the day, he was affected in the afternoon with a faintness, on recovering from which he calmly said, 'I perceive my time has come to leave you.' He then closed his hands,—I use mostly the words of the record of the commander of the vessel, the graphic and touching simplicity of which is the best possible evidence of its exactness,—and his eyes directed upward, prayed audibly to his Heavenly Father for forgiveness of all past offences, and commended his spirit to the mercy of God through Christ. He then said, 'now I am prepared to go,' and composed himself apparently as for his last struggle. But after a silence of three or four minutes, his eyes closed, and evidently in prayer, he used expressions of which the following are preserved. 'I am spared a little longer ;'— 'I have endeavored to make preparation for this event ;'— 'I have endeavored to prepare myself for God's will ;'— 'I die in the faith and hope of the Gospel.' After describing him as again lying quietly, his lips in motion, and his eyes closed for a time in inaudible prayer, the account goes on with a detail of kind messages sent to his friends at home, accompanied with mementos of his regard to them and those around him,— among others of his Bible to his mother ; (Oh ! how often does the filial heart find room to blend the memory of God's love and a mother's love together, in its last throb of gratitude !) Resuming his former quiet position for some minutes, he gathered his little remaining strength, and addressing two fellow-passengers, whom he begged to excuse for what might seem unbecoming freedom in a younger person, urged them to secure their hope

and joy, in what, under such circumstances as they were witnessing, made his. 'Later in the afternoon,' the writer goes on, 'though I began to hope he might yet remain some days, he again spoke, after resting awhile, of his approaching end. I said to him, I hoped he might pass a comfortable night. He shook his head, and raising his hand, pointing upward with his finger, answered only 'to-night,' repeating the word, and adding, 'I am as well prepared to die now, as I shall be.' — There is nothing to be told more, except that, after being soothed for a time by listening to some passages of scripture, at length a delirium came on, in which the moving shadows cast by the hanging lamp, as it swung with the heaving of the sea, were taken and greeted for his distant friends; and among them it is a satisfaction to one not of his kindred, but who certainly loved him, and wished him well for time and eternity, to know that his name was often affectionately uttered. 'Throughout the scene,' says the writer, speaking of the period of discomposure of his mind, 'not a word was uttered, which might not have been spoken by an angel in Heaven.' About eleven o'clock of that evening, having made a sign to be supported on the arms of those about him, he resigned his spirit, without a convulsion or the movement of a muscle. The next day, what was mortal of him was committed to the deep, with all studious observance of the rude but imposing ceremonial, with which a company of saddened men, on the stern solitude of that element, dismiss the no longer animated clay.\*

This is the first time, my hearers, that I ever ventured to speak in public, of the exercises of a death bed. I hope it has not been in the spirit of curious intrusion upon the sacredness of that serious scene. I add not a word of comment. You, his associates, will bear witness,— if you knew the same generous, frank, simple, manly youth, who was known to me,— that there was no acting, in the narrow, wave-tost chamber from which your brother's spirit past away. — And if not that, then there was witnessed there a specimen of the promised triumph of that faith, which overcomes the world,— its distresses and its attractions; the sustaining energy of that peace of God, which passeth understanding; the security which asks of death, 'where is thy sting?'

\* Is it the unusualness, — or what else is it, — in the scene, which gives such solemnity to a funeral at sea? The ship swung to the wind, and made to pause on her way, as if to attend to the tribute of human feeling; — the corpse, surrounded by a circle of mute men, with the flag of the distant native country spread over it, and again streaming above, in expressive signal of what is passing to some eye which may be watching it in the low horizon; — the service read in under tones of a voice, which you have been used to hear along with the storm; — the one parting sound of descent into a grave, which cannot be revisited; — and then the ensign dropping, while the sails fill, and the vessel springs forward on her course.



12

A

# S E R M O N

PREACHED AT THE INSTALLATION OF

**REV. SAMUEL KIRKLAND LOTHPROP,**

AS PASTOR OF THE

**CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON,**

**JUNE 18, 1834.**

**BY J. G. PALFREY, A. M.,**

Professor of Biblical Literature in the University of Cambridge.

**BOSTON:**

**NATHAN HALE...14 WATER STREET.**

**1834.**



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JOSEPH H. LOW, PRINTER.

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At a meeting of the Standing Committee of the "Church in Brattle Square," holden on Wednesday, the eighteenth day of June,

*Voted*, That this Committee, in the name and behalf of the Society, present their thanks to the Rev. Professor PALFREY, for his learned, appropriate, and interesting Sermon, this day delivered at the Installation of the Rev. S. K. LOTHROP, and request a copy for the press.

*Voted*, That this Committee, for the Society, acknowledge the great satisfaction they derived from the instructive and impressive Charge delivered by the Rev. JAMES WALKER, and the affectionate and comprehensive Discourse of the Rev. NATHANIEL L. FROTHINGHAM, in presenting the Fellowship of the Churches, and that they be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

*Voted*, That Messrs. James T. Austin, Nathan Hale, and Thomas P. Cushing be requested to transmit these votes to the Rev. Gentlemen above named, and, in case of their compliance, that they be requested to superintend the printing and distributing of the same.

A true copy of record.

Attest, IVERS J. AUSTIN, *Proprietors' Clerk.*

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[*Letter from the above Committee to Mr. Palfrey.*]

Boston, 18th June, 1834.

Rev. and dear Sir,

We are directed by the Standing Committee, acting in behalf of the Church in Brattle Square, to present you their thanks for the learned, appropriate, and interesting Sermon this day delivered by you at the Installation of the Rev. S. K. LOTHROP, and to request a copy for publication. We beg leave to assure you of the personal pleasure we have in making this communication, and the satisfaction we shall derive by your permitting us to add this to the many favors for which our Society gratefully acknowledges its obligations.

With great regard and esteem, your sincere friends,

(*Signed,*)

JAMES T. AUSTIN,  
NATHAN HALE,  
THOMAS P. CUSHING.

Rev. Professor PALFREY.

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[*Mr. Palfrey's Answer to the above Letter.*]

Cambridge, 21st June, 1834.

Gentlemen,

I submit to your disposal the Sermon preached on the late occasion of strong interest to us all; and, begging you to accept my thanks for the gratifying manner in which you have conveyed to me the desire of your Committee to that effect,

I am, Gentlemen, with high personal regard,  
Your friend and servant,

J. G. PALFREY.

To Messrs. J. T. AUSTIN,  
N. HALE,  
T. P. CUSHING, }

*Committee of the Church in Brattle Square.*

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The Rev. Mr. WALKER declined giving a copy of his Charge for publication, for reasons which he informed the Committee had uniformly induced him, for some years past, when asked to print such performances, to decline doing it.



## **S E R M O N .**

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**2 CORINTHIANS, ii. 16.**

**WHO IS SUFFICIENT FOR THESE THINGS ?**

IN making some remarks on the demands and responsibilities of the office to which this day's solemnity calls our attention, I would endeavor, my friends, to avoid a style of exaggerated statement, in which we may have sometimes known the subject treated. I have no idea, that the work of the ministry is a work of peculiar hardship. On the contrary, it appears to me, among labors destined to be accomplished by an elevated and constant purpose, to be rather distinguished for the alleviations, encouragements, pleasures, which attend every step of its prosecution. I have no idea that it is an undertaking to be shrunk from, as if failure in it were exceedingly probable, and exceedingly dangerous. Complete failure in it is by no means probable, if it be engaged

in with the proper spirit ; and, as to its danger, as often and as far as failure is the actual result, it is dangerous in the ministry, as it is dangerous in other walks of important action, or rather of any action. If it have come to pass not through our negligence, but our unhappiness, and the uncontrollable force of adverse circumstances, God knows that it did so, and he does not hold us accountable for it, as if it had been our sin. If failure in the endeavors, which in every sphere of action, and according to the proportion of our capacities, we owe, and cannot help owing, to the great cause of God and man, have resulted through our unfaithfulness, we must not expect to escape the divine displeasure and its consequences, because our chosen sphere was not the christian ministry. The powers and privileges with which our Creator has been pleased to endow us, and not the place in which we may have employed them, make the measure of our duty to the world, and our accountability to him ; and, on the great day of sentence, the lawyer, and the farmer, and the merchant, and the mechanic, and the mother, wife and daughter, will all have to shew, as much as the minister, that they meant well in their several places, and according to their several capacities and opportunities, did well. Paul indeed asks, looking over the extraordinarily

wide range of his allotted labors, who is sufficient for these things? But he did not mean, who, laboring in the best use of his own powers, and with those aids of God's grace which he has promised to his servants, is sufficient to acquit himself of his task so as to secure God's approbation. He meant to ask, who is able to do all, which it is desirable to see done, of so vast and critical a work. And this is a question, which Christ's ministers now have constant occasion to consider. But here appears a reason, not why any, competently disposed and qualified, should withhold themselves from the work, but why many more should take it up. Competently disposed and qualified, I say; for I am not arguing, contrary to all truth, that a man is not responsible for his choice of a place in life, as well as for his action in it. In choosing a place in life, we are to have regard to our personal adaptation to the kind of service it imposes. Among such as desire God's glory and men's good, the christian ministry demands the self-consecration of those, whose minds have a capacity, from original structure and from discipline, of acting on the minds of others. Such are the fit agents for its work; and such are not to be discouraged from it by the thought, that to do the whole of what its work contemplates, is something to which no man and no men are com-

petent. Sufficiency, indeed, is not for men. Partial failure, in any great work, every man will look for, who is wise; for we are not almighty, nor all-knowing, and complete results are for God, who is so. But partial failure is also partial success; and though we are by no means to be content with imperfect successes, so as not constantly to labor to render them less imperfect, yet, on the other hand, he who should avoid a place of duty, till he was satisfied of his sufficiency to do all the service he could find there to be done, would, if he had any just notion of the claims which duty makes, be long in finding his fit place of duty in God's world.

But if there be inexactness and exaggeration in statements of this character, which we sometimes hear, it must be owned that erroneous views on the subject, of an opposite tenor, are more common. Is it not true, that the expression of the idea, that the ministry is a work of that magnitude that a man may question his sufficiency to undertake it, is apt to be received with a degree of incredulity, as it would not be received, for instance, if one were speaking of the tasks of magistracy? Would it be stating the case too strongly, to assert the prevalence, to no small extent, of an impression, that the christian ministry is a place where inactivity and dulness may be more safely dis-

posed of, than in many other places? Should I be unauthorized to say, that many a parent thinks, if he has sent the most unenterprising and incapable of his educated sons, into the ministry, that he has found for him his most appropriate post? I fear that these statements respecting a sentiment actually prevailing, would not be too strong; and I fear more, that for its degree of currency, the clergy themselves are not free from responsibility. Partly, among other causes, from utterly false notions of official prerogative and consequence, leading to a lax sense of the indispensable-ness of personal endeavor to the maintainance of a reputable standing, and partly from a not altogether unnatural, however blameable, presuming upon the deference which the religious mind inclines to pay to the expounders of its faith, the clergy, especially where they have belonged to an establishment, have too often, I suppose, indulged themselves in an inefficiency, which has helped to give this character to their office. To speak of the case as it has existed among ourselves, the Congregational ministry, till a recent period, were essentially, as respects the purpose of these remarks, a kind of establishment here; and I apprehend it must be owned, that, after the first century of peculiar excitement, they began to give evidence of the danger, to which I have referred as



affecting their situation. In this declining state other circumstances found them, of a nature to divert their minds' chief attention from their proper business, and speed the already growing evil; so that, at least through the half century, from the beginning of the political agitations which led to our revolutionary contest, down to the time when a so far most beneficent controversy began to stir the stagnant pool, I suppose it must be granted, that, with highly honorable exceptions, of which we have cause to thank God that some yet survive among us, the Congregational clergy were, considering their obligations and advantages, an exceedingly imbecile class of men. From the sectaries, whom the demand for more zeal had raised up in the midst of them, they were in the habit of distinguishing themselves, as the learned clergy; but this was rather a traditional than a well-founded actual distinction, nor was it by any means so clear, that they excelled the sectaries in learning, as that the latter excelled them in devotion to the practical labors of a minister's proper work, and in the successful study of arts to address the mind; so that finally there grew up a state of feeling in respect to them, not yet departed, which, had it expressed itself frankly, would have often led the observing layman to address his pastor in some such terms, as these.

‘I sometimes hear you,’ he would say, ‘ask in the desk, referring to your office, who is sufficient for these things? If you will have a candid answer, it shall be, that I conceive almost any body, well schooled, is sufficient for them. The pressing business of which you speak, as you discharge it, seems mainly to consist in repeating, week by week, a many times told tale, without so much of novelty as would be found in the natural expression of successively revived convictions of its importance. Your mind is not in energetic action, like that of others about us, who had early advantages like yours, and who are now in pursuit of objects, apparently in their own nature less exciting. You do not even subject it to very much of the culture which books afford. I do not find that you habitually feed it with much more nourishing aliment of this sort, than is to be found in occasional sermons and religious magazines. I see, in your daily engagements, no very strenuous application of your powers. You are a courted companion at rich men’s feasts; and, in other circles, you are an agreeable and not imprudent circulator of the village news. As to your private example, you are a harmless, but a timid, unenterprising man; and if other great objects besides religion, had to be helped on by such as you, I am not sure that they would prosper better. You do not take

much lead in forming public sentiment, and directing moral action, in your neighborhood. You are exceedingly patient of many sorts of error, particularly if it be favored in high quarters. If it be not so, point to some impression which you have made on the impressible mass around you. Show some fruit of those labors, in a prominent sphere, which, if this description be not correct, have been employing you. Who is sufficient for the things which you do? I am almost tempted rather to ask, who is not sufficient.'

I may seem to you to have represented strongly, my hearers, impressions entertained in some quarters respecting the christian ministry. If so, I will only ask you to make from the representation such abatement as you may see cause for making, and then reply, whether views, having some similarity to what have been described, do not to some extent prevail. And now let us turn from the ministry, as, in its actual exercise, any may have supposed that they had witnessed it to be, to the ministry, as the reasons of the case demand of every conscientious man that he should make it, to see whether or not it is an office, which finds scope for the best powers, and offers attractions to the loftiest ambition.

I am at a loss how to approach my subject, in such a diversity of aspects of strong interest does it spread

itself out before me. But let us glance, first, at the action of the minister's mind on other individual minds, as seen in the speedy production of beneficent results. In his charge, there are young people. The soul of every one of them is an aggregation of those capacities and sensibilities, which working out their effects, have made up, and are to make up, all that is most blessed and most fearful in human destiny. Every one of them, should God spare him here long enough, (and if otherwise, the alternative is but of the more urgent interest,) is to be, in his degree, a happy, useful, and honored, or a worthless, despised, wretched man, according as the love of duty, or devotion to base objects shall come to reign in his heart. There are aged people. Their age will be a season of miserable vacancy, hopelessness, and discontent, or else all inward cheerfulness and peace, and their approaching departure will be a reluctant surrender of what, little as it satisfied them, was all they had learned to prize, or else a quiet return of the spirit to its father's home, according to the discipline to which their spirits are even now subjected. There are prosperous people. Their prosperity is all hollowness, it utters its loud hourly contradiction to the name by which it is called, unless the mind have had that culture, which gives to outward

advantages a title to the name. There are afflicted people. Affliction is merely torture to the undevout soul ; to him who has learned of Jesus, there comes along with it a peace of God, which passeth the inexperienced understanding. There are parents. With the degree of wisdom and faithfulness, with which now they shall be prompted to execute their trust, is most intimately connected the character, both for worthiness and enjoyment, of the lives which they cherish, as they do their own. I do not go on with the enumeration. I do not undertake to name many, even of the most apparent forms, under which the varieties of human experience might be found to range themselves. But there is no man, of all the human mass around us, the record of whose inward life, if it could be written out at length, would not touch us more, with its complexities and its contrasts of joy and sorrow, than all that we have read most moving in real or fictitious history. And the one thing which is to be looked to, to determine in each case the momentous issue presented by the earthly life, is the presence or the absence of the faith of Jesus in its power. Should the blessings of this faith, then, be communicated in their fulness, through a minister's agency, to a single mind, I submit, whether, the happiness of a single human creature being a substantial

and complicated result, a great action would not have been done, a vast benefit been conferred. But there are many individuals comprehended in each of these classes, within a minister's sphere of agency, and there are many more classes than I have specified. I am not implying that whatever of this all-important direction and impulse, they find any where, is to be derived from their minister. Far from it. But still he has seriously to ask himself, whether it is not, in great part, his own fault, when, if so disposed, or if not resolutely so disposed, they do not owe something of it to his endeavors. Week by week he has the ear of all, while other cares are laid aside, to give him the better opportunity to occupy their minds. Many come to him, craving supply for the wants of their spirits ; many, if he have not been greatly faulty or unfortunate, disposed by the force of personal attachment, to a favorable reception of what he may address to them ; most, inclined to listen with attention and candor, from respect for the place and his office. What a singular, what a precious opportunity, for the formal exposition of principles of sentiment and conduct, which he knows to be always in season, or to have, from peculiar occasions which arise, any peculiar applicability and worth. Also, he has access to the people of his charge, such as others have not,

on those uncommon occasions, when their minds are most open, and their hearts are most tender ; and then, and at other times, there are many, who are more than willing to receive whatever he may reasonably or affectingly say, in the way of counsel, of sympathy, of encouragement, even of remonstrance. Thus circumstanced, shall a minister, looking at any one of his people, not see occasion to say, that in his relation to that individual, he has a great work in hand ? And shall any one of the people, looking at their minister, not find cause to own, that they have trusted him with a great power, and that, if he is using it well, they have in him a great benefactor ? God forbid, my friends, that we should not rate high every worthy employment of the faculties, especially every service rendered by man to man. All right application of the mind is admirable. All benevolent application of it, especially so. But, while I am grateful to him who has been the divine instrument in raising me or mine from sickness, or who defends our liberties and property in the administration of the law, shall I not allow that my minister too has been doing something which concerns me nearly, if, faithful in his lot, I owe to him any thing of what I have enjoyed in life's relations and my own more intimate consciousness ; if he has done any thing towards

making my parent a good parent, my child a good child, my neighbor a good neighbor; if his influence has availed aught towards fulfilling my best wishes for those dear to me as the light that visits my eyes, as the current that throbs through my heart; if I owe to him any thing of the clearness and firmness of my faith, any supports and guides of my patient continuance in well-doing, any thing of my simplicity in purpose, and courage and confidence in action, of the meekness and humility which escape for me so many snares, and quiet for me so many tumults of spirit, any of the well-merited praise of men, any of the far more coveted praise of God? Did I commit a light charge to him whom I invited to attempt for me something of this nature? If his endeavor has had any success, shall I say that he has well accomplished a little business, and entitled himself to a little gratitude at my hands? And if he has done something of this nature for many others as well as for myself, shall I give place to the idea, that he might otherwise have been employed in operations more respectable, accomplishing results of some more considerable kind, and winning for himself truer honor?

No, my hearers, I make no disparaging comparisons between this and other callings, but sure I am



you will agree with me, that he who has done something of this sort has not been engaged in an ignoble service, and that he, who, in the place of which we speak, has not endeavored something of it, challenges your contempt, not for his calling, but for his character. But, secondly, let us observe what is the instrument of a minister's proper action, that we may see whether there is any possible influence of his on the character of society, and the course of events which make up the world's history, as well as upon the fortunes of that invisible world which is enclosed in every human bosom. That instrument is religious truth; in other words, moral truth in its highest department, and standing on its highest evidence. And moral truth is no other than the great instrument of those conquests, the benefit and the fame of which are to last. By his office, I repeat it, that is, by the facilities of his office, the minister is one of those who are to wield the power, which at length has made itself recognised as the divinely appointed superintendent of human concerns. Time was, in the lowest state of civilization which letters record, when physical qualities were accounted the elements of power, and claimed for themselves an estimation accordingly. The robust Entellus, the swiftfooted Achilles, were the highest specimens of human nature

of those ages. In intellectual distinctions, as society advanced, next were sought the signatures of greatness; but already we have gone far in a transition to the juster view, that moral power is the endowment the noblest for its possessor, and the most efficient in the production of memorable results; the self-same power which it belongs peculiarly to the minister to exert and to create. It is his, then, according to the proportion of his abilities, to labor, in these more auspicious modern times, in that great work in which the sages of all time, the men whom of all men we most venerate, have labored, the investigation and establishment of truth suited to affect human character and condition, and the application of it to the production of those results, which, faithfully applied, it is omnipotent to produce. He, precisely like them, is to think and write for the honor and spread of truth, and the advancement of human nature. He may be able to do it with far less power than those great lights of the ages. But we are now speaking of the capacities of the vocation, not of the capacities of the man; and if what we have been affirming here is just, the powers, which should match the highest that human annals record, would find ample, and free, and unoccupied range for like exercise, in this field. Shall I add that the

christian minister, according to the custom of his office, has a great practical advantage, in bringing truth to bear directly on the mind, over those who have but stored up their weighty thoughts in books? All human experience has taught the lesson, that there is no vehicle of thought which has a power of penetration like the human voice; and accordingly this is the way, in which men have always sought to address each other on occasions of high personal concern. So too the christian minister addresses those, whom he would attract to the reception of truth, and the practice of goodness. He does not write them a letter, if I may so speak, to be coldly read in a listless solitude; for a book is but its author's communication by letter to its reader's mind; but he goes and looks them in the face, and demands entrance into their hearts, in tones to which, if they knock hard enough, the heart is not so made as to refuse admission. He may do his errand unskilfully, but, if to little purpose, it will not be because his message is not a sublime one, and his opportunity all that heart can desire.

If these things be so, then, in respect even to real power, and consequence, and control over earthly events, (for here I am speaking of no more,) I would ask, whether it is possible to rank the sacred office, exercised as it may be, (and if not so exercised it is

not the fault of the office,) elsewhere than among the highest which man sustains. If, especially in this country and age, whatever thing the mass of a community can be strongly persuaded should be done, we may be sure will be done, and if the principles which are to determine that choice, and the mental habits and tastes which are to make it, are precisely the matters of the minister's professional cognizance, is he the man who is professionally in no condition to make the country, and the age, and posterity, his debtor? I know I shall be told that it does not belong to him to make any showy exhibitions of power, thus manifesting his consequence to his own view and that of others; and herein is a sophism involving much of the current error on the subject. It is so, no doubt. The majesty of the state does not invest his person. He cannot arrest a legal provision, nor negotiate a treaty. He cannot sign a pardon, nor a death warrant, nor so much as a commission. His uttered will is not instantly decisive of some large interest, nor, when he moves the minds of others the most vehemently, does he move them to any present and conspicuous result. Whether or not there is some sufficient compensation for this want of immediate testimony and encouragement to his efforts, we may see under the next head. Mean-

while, I have something further to say upon the statement, as far as it has gone. The judge, upon the bench, when the august will of the law is declaring itself through his lips, and its ready satellites are waiting round him, is the object of the crowd's most admiring wonder; and the statesman, while he speaks the mighty words, that solve some ill-boding perplexity, and end some high debate. But I do not know that the scene even of highest triumph to either, is the public scene, or whether it is not another, where the teacher of religion is at home as much as they. I am apt to think that the mere sense of power is not always, if generally, so intense and glorious with the judge, when the insignia of dominion are around him, and the mute veneration of the throng is more expressive than would be their most boisterous applause, as when in his solitary chamber, by his late or his early lamp, he has found his way, in strong meditation, to the principle, where he may rest what he is going to announce on a basis of everlasting justice, ascertaining that the simple right is done in the case between man and man, and showing others the way to do the like right after him; and I own I envy not the political champion nearly so much the consciousness of that moment, when his overpowering accents are rolling on the captivated ear, as

when in his closet, unwitnessed, unpraised, unmissed, unthought of, he has just thought out the glowing, burning, all radiant illustration, which he feels, when brought forth in its place, is to make the truth triumphant, the people prosperous, and the rulers wise. I doubt not, my friends, that if such great men were to confide to us their experience, we should learn that their profoundest consciousness of power had been in scenes and moments, when it may equally belong to those, who may not exert it in the same conspicuous places, nor in the same present and manifest achievements, that, at other times, they do. The wise and good man, (for all such make one brotherhood, and it is folly to speak of their different forms of labor, as marking any thing but various subdivisions under the same class,) has, so far, equal delight, and equal consciousness of a lofty vocation, when he conceives a thought which he feels is to work mightily for good, whether he is directly to deliver it from a tribunal or in a hall of council, to write it on the parchments of a public office, to send it forth in a book, or ascend with it the pulpit stairs. And he, who is capable of feeling, and has been privileged to attain, this enjoyment, who is assured that under the care of providence, which does not suffer such things to be lost, something that he has righteously

and wisely thought and written or said, is sooner or later to prosper in the thing whereunto he sent it, is not likely to be much annoyed by the thought, if so it should be, that when the developement shall come, there will be no crowd looking on to recognize and applaud the doer.

But I must tear myself away from this part of my subject. I will only suggest the question, whether, partial as history yet is, by force of false ancient models, to the selection of the worst materials, and accordingly holding up, through all its chapters, a perpetual libel on human nature, moral exploits are not henceforward, in the improved state of intelligence, to be a way to attract something more of her notice; whether it is not likely, that there will come some age, which, looking back upon ours, for instance, will rate as highly the campaigns of Wilberforce as the campaigns of Wellington, holding the deliverance of some races by the high action of a mind under the most unequivocal impulses, to be of as much account as the demolition, for however good cause, of some armies? And, my hearers, look at the lessons which history reads us of the effects which religion has wrought as an engine or opponent of the state; for in that connexion history does consent to take notice of its agency; and then say, whether it can possibly

be regarded as a sluggish element in society. Great things doubtless has it wrought, great things relating to fortunes of empires, even when divested of its distinctive and most commanding power by the errors which were blended with it, and dissociated from its natural alliance with all that is soundest in human reason, and most quickening to human hearts. Great things, again, have been done by the power of the native moral sense, unaided by the advantages which revealed religion offers for its confirmation and guidance. What will not be done, of all which we should most desire to see done, when these powers shall come to act vigorously and extensively in concert, as God meant they should act? Has the world no deep stake, then, in his labors, whose business is to woo them so to act, and guide them while so acting? And if, with enlightened views, and that devoted purpose which a due sense of the magnificence of their task would awaken, a body of men, so numerous as the christian clergy, were employed, each in his own sphere, in engaging, maintaining, and directing them in such joint operation, through the agency of all whom each minister could directly or remotely influence, how would such a company move on the world. How little room would they be leaving for the question, whether or not they had undertaken a work, for



which the highest powers were more than sufficient, or the highest honor more than deserved.

I have dwelt the longer on these considerations, because they have the advantage of bringing well-understood human experience, in a greater or less degree, to the aid of the argument I am maintaining. In other respects, they admit no favorable comparison with that, which I am last to suggest, and in which the distinctive dignity of the sacred office is brought before the view. ‘You paint slowly and carefully,’ said some one to a great master of art. ‘I do,’ he replied, ‘for I am making a work for immortality.’ What he said inexactly, the christian minister may say in the most accurately literal language, of every line and color which he spreads on the imperishable canvass of a human soul. To conceive of all that is comprehended in this truth, is an exercise for faith, no doubt. But the whole of it consists of the simplest and most unquestionable inferences, from a faith held by every one, who considers the christian ministry worth supporting.

I know, my hearers, that all honest action is happy action ; and the more happy, the more successful it has been in accomplishing the object at which it aimed. But doubtless, by force of all the reasons of the case, the more permanent the interests which

such action is designed to touch, the more quickening and happy it may be expected to be found. I know, that, in an important sense, every worthy result attained has a right to be called a permanent result, because it cannot fail to have some enduring relations to human character. But still it must be owned, that it is only indirectly, that many forms of labor, even in the liberal pursuits of life, contemplate effects that are to endure ; and herein, in this transitoriness of what they propose to win, is to be acknowledged, so far, an essential meanness, (unsatisfactoriness, at least,) in such pursuits, from which the pursuits of the christian ministry are altogether exempt. When the art of healing has done its blessed work, and a useful life is saved, and anxious friends made happy, the object of their gratitude still feels that he has to say, 'I have but been doing, under God, a work which must soon be undone. The body, to which I ministered, lives and is strong again. But I have but been the divine instrument to put off its doom. Before long, the sentence will certainly go forth, which neither I nor any man will have power to change.' The minister of the law, when he has the most faithfully discharged his function for my benefit, is reminded that he has but been protecting for me a property, which presently I shall have to sur-

render again, or a liberty, which, had he failed, death, the great emancipator, would not have been long in bringing. The merchant accumulates, perceiving, if he is wise, that he has no ground for confident expectation that his wealth is to be eventually even a short-lived good to them who are next to receive it from his hands, as well as that, in all the common chances of the future, it will not descend far in the line in which he shall bequeath it; and the statesman's best labors are after all for the prosperity of empires, which, no more than the material monuments of brass and stone they raise to their benefactor's glory, are to have any continued existence beyond the present world. Is not the ministry here seen to stand on a high ground of distinguishing dignity? The only work done by the mightiest men, which is to last forever, is work done upon the human soul; and precisely and exclusively this work is what the ministry undertakes to do. It has no ultimate objects among things which perish. In every case where it has well done its office, it has reared, I repeat it, an everlasting trophy. And here is the thousand-fold compensation, of which I spoke, for one alleged deficiency in the triumphs which a minister's labors may achieve. If they are not immediate and conspicuous, like some others, they are abiding, as none of a different sort

are, and they are destined forever to grow. Friends, is it true that the permanence of effects contemplated is one of the standards, by which we should estimate the relative consideration of labors for securing them ; and shall we not own that the ministry makes some claim for effective labors ? Brethren in the ministry, have we felt all the greatness of our vocation, as it is revealed to us by the thought, that the work we may have well done is to stand and be built upon higher and higher forever, till the structure, of which, under God, we have laid the foundation, is lofty enough to fatigue an angel's ken ? We do not know what the human soul, in its vast future self-evolutions, is to become ; but we know, that it is never to lose its present consciousness, and that the elements of its ever growing greatness are to be the self-same which here have been put together, and watched over in their immaturity. And, besides quickening our zeal on the ground of high obligation so exhibited, has this consideration interested our affections in our work and its objects, to the degree it should have done ? What I now mean is, that when I make an exertion or sacrifice for my child or for my friend, I am excited by the thought, among others, that I am thereby making myself the dearer to him ; that I am establishing another claim on his good-will, while I

manifest, and at the same time confirm, my own friendly sentiments; and that our future intercourse together will be, on this account, so much the more intimate, affectionate, confiding, and happy, as long as continued life shall allow to us each others' friendship. Shall the minister not be animated by the thought, that they, whose spiritual interests he may have served, will still gratefully own him for their friend in their eternal life, and feel and acknowledge only more and more gratefully the worth of the kindness he had done them, as the preciousness of the spiritual enjoyments, he had aided them to choose and love, are more and more revealed to their experience through the successive stages of their endless progress? Oh what a prize to toil for, to have constantly recalled to our minds, in the blessed society of the future world, the memory of what we had worthily done for others in this, witnessing perpetually its fruits in the sublime and ever-spreading happiness, which God had made us his instruments to communicate.

I make an end of such reflections, because I know not where I should find one, and I have occupied my share of your time. You, dear Sir, understand, for you have tasted, the enjoyments, which attend on the exercise of this ministry. Happier auspices than

those, under which you are now resuming it, no man need, no reasonable man could, desire. I know your people better than I did, when, sixteen years ago yesterday, I was commissioned to their service, by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery; and I know that the best services you will render them will be no better than their desert, and that the lines of your service, falling among them, have indeed fallen to you in pleasant places. Wise counsels wait here to be blended with yours; a generous encouragement to animate your labors; those fervent prayers of righteous men, which avail much, to ascend with yours, and in your behalf. You are to find here no small disposition or ability to do whatever you shall be able to shew ought to be done. You are to have access to minds which hold close communion with the public mind, and are able to take the truth which you shall recommend to their acceptance, and send it forth widely on its beneficent way. You are welcomed to the confidence of pious spirits, old and young, to which it will be all happiness to minister; you are greeted, as their welcome associate and guide, by a company of children, rearing up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and rising around you to be a wall of fire on your right hand and your left; by a band of youth who understand one

another, who sympathize in high common objects, and are not unused to work together for the common good. What this people expect from their minister, is, that he shall care for their souls ; the expectation which, I am persuaded, you most desire to find and to satisfy. May the Father of lights and of mercies prosper you, my brother, in the hopeful work you are undertaking, strengthen your hands, put wisdom in your mind, and a pure and lofty purpose in your heart, and fulfil for your usefulness and honor the warmest wishes which a christian affection could inspire.

Brethren of this beloved congregation, I am forbidden, in expressing my good wishes for you, to advert to circumstances of personal relation. This day is not mine. Its interest all belongs to another. I may not indulge myself in speaking of reasons, which make my interest in your happy prospects a feeling deeper in my heart, than any other feeling but those due to objects of the closest personal concern. May the living God bless you, my good friends ; you and yours ; each and all ; with the blessings of time, and of preparation for eternity. May the best hopes of this day be, through his own peculiar grace, fully answered, and you and your minister be made each other's joy and bright crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus.

## FELLOWSHIP OF THE CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. MR. FROTHINGHAM, OF BOSTON.

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I am directed, Sir, by the churches assembled here, to extend to you the right hand of their fellowship. It is the hand of their own special fellowship, for from the church at large you have received it already. I do not ask you, then, to accept it,—as if it were a new thing,—but place it confidently in yours, as a sign of closer union, in a fraternity that had been acknowledged before. We welcome you to a more intimate participation of our religious cares ; and we feel assured that we shall be met on your part by the same cordial sympathies that we bring. For you do not come to us with a stranger's face, and you do not bear with you a stranger's heart. You know us, and are known of us. We cannot salute you in the usual way of almost compassionate encouragement, as one who is approaching the work of an untried duty, or entering into the society of untried friends. We are too late to bid you welcome into the ministry of the great word. We are too



late to congratulate you,—if one may be allowed to speak so,—on your accession to an office, which can never permit a life of ease, however a vulgar opinion may show a growing boldness to consider it so,—not a life of ease, whatever else it may be. But we do welcome you to a church, that is not without a peculiar interest for your own feelings, while it is connected by many sacred associations with our own. We will congratulate you, that you are henceforth to fulfil your ministry among the scenes of your early attachments ; in a community, that, if it requires much, rewards well,—that holds the servants of its altars in love and honor, and knows as well perhaps as any on earth both how to appreciate and how to excuse. We will congratulate you, that you have come here to be a successor to so many ready and considerate regards, to be a sharer with us and our brethren of privileges that are nowhere surpassed.

We will consult with you. We will coöperate with you. We will bring what aid we can to you, when you need aid. We will rejoice with you in your satisfactions. We will grieve with you, if you are put to disappointment and distress. This is the fellowship, that we offer, and that we expect.

Fellowship ! The word is a monitory, as well as a brotherly one. If it is expressive of benevolent

affections, it implies something also of weakness and necessity. We unite that we may be befriended, comforted and strengthened. We should not desire alliance, if we felt sufficient of ourselves. But we are aware of having undertaken a wide and trying labor, and we therefore seek for associates;—we require fellow helpers; we ask for encouragement in the looks, the words, the different gifts, and the sustaining deeds of one another.

Fellowship! Important as it is, precious as it is, it must yet share in the precariousness and the perils of our other blessings. How insufficient and illusive will it be found, if we rely upon it too dependently! How dangerous, if we draw its delicate bonds into an oppressive closeness! How sorrowful, in many of its broken recollections, after they who were included in it have dropped away! But we will not so rely upon it; and we will not so strain upon it; and we will, by God's grace, so use this connexion and amity, that there shall be at least nothing to reproach us, when its ties may be loosened or its companions depart.

We stand together for mutual assistances. But how much there is in thought and life, that does not admit of being mutual;—how much, in which no mortal power can assist! The soul must dwell often

alone, and in some respects always alone. It has sorrows which it cannot communicate. It has exultations that it cannot express. It has responsibilities, in which it lives apart, and by which it must be judged apart. The stranger cannot enter into them, and the whole world is a stranger. Its conferences must be with itself. Its advices and its supports can come only from an invisible source.

I have even feared, that we are getting to lean too much on what is abroad. We live in an age of combinations, when nothing seems to be thought strong, unless it intricates itself with other things, that are to make it so ;—and God's work appears little, unless a great deal of man's work is with it ;—and some large apparatus is taken for the promise, if not for the evidence, of a large effect ;—and a power applied from without is apt to be put into the place and honors of that only real power, which must grow and be inspired from within. And I have feared, lest we might become too fond to be wise, and too ambitious to be safe, of a mere show of strength, which is so much the less likely to be substantial, as it is the most easily produced, and the most proudly displayed.

I may mistake in this ; and the apprehended evil may be only an imagination of my own, or at worst a passing accident of the time. But there is no room

for error in any thoughtful mind on the general principle,—that we must learn to seek our resources more in ourselves and from above, and less and less on what the friendly may wish, or the ingenious may devise, or the serviceable can execute. We are to do and suffer, for the most part, without earthly witnesses or aids.

Fellowship! It is a blessed advantage. We might be miserable without it. But far more miserable is it, to be able to contribute nothing to it from our own store, or to have laid up no other resource, amidst the transientness of time and beyond the power of fate.

What are the feeble connexions of any professional intercourse, let it be as endearing as it may, compared with the eternal relations that bind each single heart to the Sovereign Object of its love and duty and dread? We are passing away from a world, where we would not always abide, so hopelessly imperfect, and with an anxious task never done. And how hasty is this passing away of us and of our generations! The fellowship that is now solemnized, will presently be an old record, hardly worth being referred to; and the right hand, that now represents many, will leave no one behind, who is giving you with it his youthful prayers or his fatherly blessing. But

if there is any truth in what divine men have spoken, and dutiful men have believed ;—if our preaching is not vain, and our faith vain ;—if the record of hope is not a fraud from the beginning, and if the very pulses at our wrists do not throb to a splendid falsehood ;—there is communion elsewhere, a glorious assembly that shall never be dispersed, a brotherhood with happy spirits.

## APPENDIX.



### ORIGINAL HYMN.

WRITTEN FOR THE INSTALLATION, BY THOMAS GRAY, M. D.

SUNG BY THE CHOIR OF BRATTLE STREET SOCIETY.

- 1 LORD ! bless the rite that gives, this hour  
A shepherd to thy flock below,  
To preach the Saviour's name with power,  
And bid salvation's fountains flow.
- 2 Here may the hardened heart once more  
Break its long sleep of sin and doubt ;  
Until the smitten rock shall pour  
The waters of repentance out.
- 3 Here may the weary, aching breast,  
Seek peace from heaven,—oh ! not in vain,—  
And the long wand'ring find a rest  
Within the Saviour's fold again.
- 4 The crush'd flower on the fragrant sod  
Drinks not in vain the dews of even !  
Thus,—here, on earth's bruis'd flowers, O God,  
Pour out the freshening dews of heaven.
- 5 Here may the grateful heart, to Thee  
Swell its high praises, Holy One;  
Till the wide earth shall bow the knee  
Beneath the gospel of thy Son.

**ORIGINAL HYMN,****WRITTEN BY THOMAS POWER, ESQ.****SUNG AT THE INSTALLATION DINNER.**

- 1 O Thou! whose blessings kindly flow  
The whole creation o'er,  
Teach thy frail creatures here below  
To worship and adore.
- 2 For all thy care in other years,  
For all thy favors given,  
Thy church with humble thanks appears,  
And bears its thoughts to Heaven.
- 3 With reverence let the Saviour's name  
Be borne on every tongue ;  
While worlds his praises shall proclaim,  
In themes that angels sung.
- 4 Here let the messenger of peace  
Declare thy holy will ;  
Let truth with brighter ray increase,  
And love each bosom fill.

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THE CLAIMS OF HARVARD COLLEGE UPON ITS SONS.

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A

# S E R M O N

PREACHED IN

THE CHAPEL OF THAT INSTITUTION,

ON

LORD'S DAY AFTERNOON,

JULY 13, 1834.

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*overman*

By JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.,  
=

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

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1834.



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**METCALF, TORRY, AND BALLOU.**

## S E R M O N .

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2 KINGS, IV. 13.

SAY NOW UNTO HER ; BEHOLD, THOU HAST BEEN CAREFUL FOR US  
WITH ALL THIS CARE ; WHAT IS TO BE DONE FOR THEE ?

YOUR thoughts, my friends, anticipate me, in the use which I am about to make of this text. The question proposed, in the application I have in view, while it may be supposed to address itself, at this moment, with a special interest to the minds of those, who are taking part for the last time in our Sabbath solemnities, yet demands, on essentially the same grounds of obligation, to be as seriously weighed by others of my hearers as by them. To some of us, in other times, has been already extended by this college that care, which more recently these, our young friends, have been experiencing ; and some, in one or another stage of the course now completing by their associates, are accumulating the debt to which our present inquiry relates. This college has been careful with great care for many more, now scattered to all the borders of the country, and to all the quarters of the world. What is to be done by all and by each of us, in requital of the benefit so conferred ?

Am I met, however, on the threshold of the inquiry, by the remark, that, when I speak of a college, I am speaking only of an abstraction, am only using a name ; that a college is a thing incapable of an intelligent purpose to do a service, and incapable of being the object of gratitude for a service done ? If it be necessary to advert to such a thought, it cannot be necessary to do more than say, that to speak of an institution of this nature as conferring benefits and entitled to gratitude, is to employ, if a not entirely accurate, a brief and convenient way of expressing a very substantial and unquestionable fact. That a good has been done, when the minds of many, or of few, under suitable discipline, have been endowed with great resources and satisfactions within themselves, and with a great power to serve others, is an argument which I suppose needs not to be labored here. If the good has been done, by what means has it been done ? Of course, by means of the apparatus here provided and maintained ; by the communications of the living teacher, by access to books, and to other like instruments for the acquisition of knowledge, and by the mutually quickening influence of association among those, whom the existence of such advantages here has brought together to enjoy them. How then came these advantages here, for they are not the spontaneous products of the soil ? They have been collected by successive endowments of public and private bounty. The Commonwealth, with a signal munificence, has done

her part, through all the period of her history, giving from a treasury furnished by contributions of all her citizens, the rich and the poor. Private benefactors have with a generous public spirit done theirs, bringing hither, from generation to generation, the tribute of their hard earnings, and the tokens of their liberal and enlightened views ; the opulent giving in the measure of their abundance, and they who were rich only in the wealth of a noble spirit, bestowing in the largest proportion of their narrower ability. They make all of us, who have studied here, the objects of their gratuitous bounty, the recipients of their intelligent charity. They suffer no one to defray the charge of the education which he receives within their walls. However affluent, my friends, any of us or of our parents may be, we have none of us been living here at our own or our parents' cost. For a great part of the means of improvement, which here we have been enjoying, we are suffered to render no pecuniary equivalent. What view had they who have so served us, in putting themselves to such an expense ? Certainly not a view to the indulgence of any whim or convenience of their own, or of ours ; but a view to the promotion of certain great objects, which when we have considered, we shall be guided to repay the debt of gratitude we owe to them, or, in other words, as I first stated it, to the college through which we have received their benefactions. The debt of gratitude, I say ; for never was a more incontestable claim of justice. Their college has

found no very apt pupil, as far as logic is concerned, in him who can entertain the idea, that he may honorably go from beneath their roof, to pursue merely his own selfish ends with the help of the learning which they gave him, regardless henceforward of them, and of the purposes for which they bestowed it.

But, if we owe the patrons of our college such a debt, to whom shall we repay it? since from its nature and the circumstances of the case, it is incapable of being discharged directly to themselves, nor was such their own intention.

I. We should testify our gratitude, in the first place, by causing their good offices to be effectual for that elevation of our own characters, which was one of the objects in their contemplation.

Doubtless it was part of their design, to be benefactors, on a large scale, by promoting the individual good of all, who, from age to age, should present themselves to share in the advantages they offered; and, accordingly, by using those advantages to that end, it belongs to us to accomplish their wishes, and render our acknowledgments. They intended to give to every object of their liberality the power of earning, by the honest labor of his mind, a decent maintenance, without being further burdensome to others; and so far they would have a right to complain of whoever should go from beneath their care to live an idle life, even if he should think to dignify his pusillanimous unprofitableness, by calling it by some such name as the enjoyment of learned leisure. They de-

signed to give to their pensioners opportunity to realize the satisfactions, appropriate to the holding of those places in society, which are attended with influence, and regarded with respect ; and it concerns our duty to them, that no negligence of ours should frustrate this their purpose. But they intended, my hearers, to put us in possession of enjoyments, far beyond what any array of prosperous external circumstances is able to afford. The world of intellect and feeling within us, is that where our happiness is most truly held to reside ; and that world it was their purpose to set in order and enrich. The high and unalloyed satisfactions, which God has made to be found in the pursuit and contemplation of the truth ; the pleasures inseparable from the mind's action in a sphere, where there is every thing to excite, and nothing to irritate ; the delights belonging to the developement and harmony of those capacities, which ally the human with superior natures ; the joys that inhabit the empyrean region of sober thought ; to these, and to a strong and permanent relish for these, it was their will to introduce us, and if we do not greatly prize and earnestly seek the boon, we shall have done them, as truly as ourselves, much less than justice. They did not desire to give a knowledge, which should serve the bad purposes of an unholy mind. They did not aim to furnish, in any man's cultivated understanding, an armoury of treason against his higher nature. It was the mandate of a christian charity, which bade these walls arise ; of a charity, which con-

templated the advancement of the interests of the accountable and never-dying soul. Upon their humble front, when first it lifted itself, making the desert rejoice, it wrote their consecration 'to Christ and to the Church.' It did not mean thus to announce alone, that it proposed to rear within them a ministry for Christ's and the Church's service ; though this of course was one prominent way towards the attainment of the more comprehensive object ; but, that it would build up, in every heart it might reach, an invisible temple of the christian faith, that it would send forth in every intellect it should nurture, an efficient friend and advocate of the Redeemer's cause. It meant to make the intellectual element in man capable of ministering effectually to the higher element of goodness ; of doing its bidding, and quickening its growth, and signalizing its dignity. Few, if any, my friends, let us trust, will ever be found those recreant brethren of ours, who will be so lost to reason and to duty alike, as to use the weapons, with which they have furnished themselves from this mental arsenal, in a warfare against all that is most excellent within them. Such 'a foolish son' might well be called 'the heaviness of his mother,' and 'his mother,' as the prophet says, be 'sore confounded by him.' Be it ours, at all events, to render so far the most acceptable honor to the benefactors of our minds, by dedicating all conquests, we may have won in the wide field of intellect, for so many sanctified offerings to the supreme source of all intelligence ;

by making all knowledge and accomplishments, we have been assisted to acquire, lend their aid towards the culture of a manly, pervading, and vigorous piety. The intellectual light is but faint and clouded, unless the spiritual lend its rays, making it pierce and warm, while it shines ; nor alone can it quicken any growth of the soul, to repay much pains in the rearing. But let the acquisitions of the understanding bring the tribute of their energy and richness to the graces of the heart, and we witness a venerable specimen of that nature, which then without incredulity we hear described as ‘a little lower than the angels.’

II. But certainly it was not the ultimate object of those, whose wishes, having been benefited by their bounty, we are bound to consult, to convey even the highest good to such as should be the immediate objects of their care. They entertained the comprehensive wishes of patriots, of philanthropists, of christians. At their own cost, but through our agency, they designed to benefit their race, in our country, in all countries, in all interests, in all times. Intelligent and well-intended human action, they knew was the instrument for doing this ; and for such action they designed to give power and impulse, through their benefactions, to every mind which these should reach.

Accordingly, my friends, I present it as a distinct and unquestionable obligation resting on the sons of this college, to go thence to labor, after the largest measure of their powers, for the pro-



motion of the common good. We withhold the payment of a debt contracted to those, who have here put us in possession of any capacities of effective action we may exert, if we limit ourselves, in the use of these capacities, to the attainment of any personal end. In whatever liberal pursuit we may choose, we cannot consent, until we have become deaf to the plainest dictates of justice, to do merely as much as will give us a living, or wealth, or office, or fame, and there cease our endeavours. Our public spirit, our spirit of christian benevolence, is to be partly manifested in one or another form, according to the peculiar facilities and occasions of that sphere of service to God and our generation, which we may have adopted for our own ; but in no sphere of action can it honorably fail of being manifested. The lawyer is not to argue his causes, and satisfy his clients, and receive his gains, and then suppose that he is acquitted of his duty. No ; he received part of his preparation to do this at the charge of those, who demand from him, in return, that he should make some contribution to those great doctrines of social justice, on which, as on a broad and firm foundation, the fabric of social happiness stands ; or, at least, that, pervaded by the spirit of the noble science he professes, he should always be found standing in his lot, the inflexible friend of public liberty and order, and of private right. The physician has not discharged the obligations, which here in the early stage of his career were laid upon him, when he has pur-

sued his curious researches into all the realms of nature, and into the mysterious dependencies of the fearfully and wonderfully fashioned human frame, nor when he has spread his renown, nor when he has made his fortune. No ; he owes such contributions as he may make to the resources of the excellent art he practices ; and he has an office of benevolence to fulfil, wherever he may bring relief to the infirmities of man's exposed and suffering mortal nature. The statesman, educated here, leaves a large and righteous claim unsatisfied, if he allows himself, I will not say, to consult only his own aggrandisement, but to limit his action to any narrow aims ; and the man of fortune, if he devotes himself to the indulgence of his ease or his tastes. Such service as either has acquired here capacity to render to the general welfare, and to that truth which in all departments is the great element of the general welfare, such service each has come here under an inevitable obligation to present. The teacher, who has been here instructed, is not to teach, the merchant is not to traffic, without higher views than views of private interest mingling among their motives. They stand indebted to those who meant, that whoever should be indebted to them should in his turn bring others under obligation for wise and generous kindnesses. Each is thus held to do the work, by which he supports or advances himself, in a liberal spirit, using under the impulse of a high sense of duty the opportunities, which his peculiar pursuits afford, for communi-

cating knowledge, and diffusing happiness, and recommending good habits and good principles to all with whom those pursuits connect him. And the minister of religion, solemn and clear and conclusive as his other obligations are, is to recognise yet an added motive to abound for others in every good word and work, in the implied condition, under which he received so much of whatever power he has of addressing others' reason and feelings. But very far are the forms of effort, in which the good and wise are to fulfil their appointed office, from being circumscribed within the limits of any professional action. The lawyer, or physician, or teacher, does not sustain that one character alone. He is much more, than what the name of his occupation indicates. He is a man ; having all the sympathies and relations of a man ; having endless ways, in his extra-professional walk, of access to human understandings, and control over human character and welfare. All methods of influence, thus opened to minds, which possess any added power of influence by means of their acquisitions here, are to be sacredly employed for others' highest benefit. We are to be true to our vocation in taking care, that whoever is at the trouble to observe any one of us, shall observe the course of a friend to good order ; a patron, according to his means, of good objects ; an associate and fellow-laborer, a counsellor or disciple of good men ; an inquisitive and honest seeker, a firm and fearless champion, of the truth. If God has given us ability to do any thing to

extend the triumphs of truth, we shall regard this as a privilege deserving all gratitude, and a work demanding all devoted endeavour. And, with humility, no doubt, but still with meek confidence in him, who suffers no well-intended service to remain wholly and for ever unavailing, we shall indulge the hope, that something we may have worthily done, in act or thought, may be beneficially felt, though the doer should be all unknown, even by distant men and by other times.

III. Once more ; if we acknowledge obligations to the worthies on the honored roll of the patrons of this college, the institution through which their bounty has been conveyed to us, the institution which was such a cherished object of their affection and care, should be always an object of affection and care to us.

I am not asserting, my friends, that, should circumstances make such a course possible, we are ever to show our gratitude to our college at the expense of our integrity. I know of no gratitude, which cancels that obligation ; and sure I am, that such a service our college will never ask at our hands, and will never receive from them, till we are most unworthy sons. I am not saying, that the measures of her administration are never to be canvassed by those, who have been objects of her bounty. It may well be more or less their right and duty, according to different relations which they sustain to her, and to different opportunities possessed by them of information and influence, to have, and to urge an opinion, favor-

able or otherwise, upon such measures. But I am affirming, that they are to be canvassed, when they do come under our notice, I was about to say, in the spirit of an affectionate solicitude, that they may be found, on examination, to be worthy of approval ; but I will rather say, in the spirit of an earnest solicitude, that they may either prove to be of that character, or may eventually be made so. But, leaving this, with the repetition of the single remark, that I am speaking of no gratitude, if such there could be, which should involve any violation of integrity or justice, I urge that the sons of this college, wherever they go, and whatever they do, are not to suffer themselves to forget, that here dwells the nursing mother of their minds ; and it is ‘a foolish son,’ says the wise man, who ‘despiseth his mother.’ If she should ever seem to appeal to us, by a claim of filial duty, for any thing adverse to severer obligations, we may be sure that it is not then her voice that speaks, the blended voice of her wise and worthy through seven generations. But, on the other hand, in evil report and good report, our mother’s honor is alike our care ; our mother’s name is not to be lightly taken on injurious lips, while we stand by and hear. Till we are caitiff sons, we shall not imagine that there is no task for us, when justice, as we deem it, is not done her to the full. If we believe any charges which may have been made against her, on the score of religious partisanship, or the like, to be altogether unauthorized by the fact, we can have no dis-

pensation from saying so ; and that, very freely, unambiguously, and emphatically. If we believe, that an education nearly as good as is to be obtained any where else in this country, or quite as good, or a great deal better, is to be here obtained, in expressing our opinion to this effect, according as it may be, we shall but be acquitting ourselves of a manifest obligation of honorable men, sustaining the relation which we bear. But the credit of our college is not all, for which we are to feel concern, nor shall we have accomplished what in this aspect appears to be its due from us, when we have vindicated its good name, and published and urged its merits. All its interests are to be substantially served by the labors of its friends, and among those friends we are to have our actions take care that our names be recorded. If God blesses us with wealth, I know not, among the public distributions which we may have grace to devise, what more grateful object we can propose to ourselves, than to turn back to pour a filial tribute into our mother's lap, to be dispensed to her younger hopes in ampler bounty, than she could command the means to afford to us. And here, I will even ask, in passing, since the subject leads to the inquiry, whether, while separately many of her children have 'done virtuously' in this way, it is not time that some more extended and united action of them together should 'excel them all.' An eminent jurist\* of the last century called his liberal

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\* Chief Justice Dudley.

testamentary endowment, 'a poor thank-offering to God from his unworthy servant for his many and great mercies to him in his education at that college;' and the words, 'once\* a pupil, always a patron,' making part of the inscription, in which her gratitude recorded the merits of another distinguished magistrate, on the edifice, by the gift of which he had expressed his filial regard, have a truth and an interest for the many bosoms, in which the same sentiment is doubtless devoutly cherished.† If we have no wealth to offer her, possibly there are those who have, who desire to have their liberal designs enlightened and guided by our, so far, better discretion, and to whom our upright and fitly spoken word may usefully commend her claims. We do something to possess

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\* The inscription on the front of old Stoughton Hall was as follows;

DEO OPT. MAX. BONISQ. LITERIS S.  
GULIELMUS STOUGHTON ARMIGER PROVINCIE  
MASSACHUSET. NOV-ANGLOSUM VICE-GUBERNATOR  
COLLEGII HARVARDINI OLIM ALUMNUS  
SEMPER PATRONUS FECIT  
ANNO DOMINI 1699.

Peirce's History, p. 71.

† 'The Court agreed to give 400 £ towards a schoale or Colledge, whearoff 200 £ to bee paid the next yeare, and 200 £ when the worke is finished, and the next Court to appoint wheare and wt building.'

Such is part of the record of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, convened Sept. 25th, (Oct. 6th, N. S.) 1636, and continued thence from day to day by adjournment. In little more than two years, then, the second century from the foundation of the College will be completed.

Is it fit, or not, that her nineteen hundred living sons should be thinking of doing honor to that event by some joint expression of their gratitude?

Their aggregate means are ample. The wants of the college, in two respects, those of accommodation for its invaluable library, and provision for indigent students, are great. To keep the anniversary by a liberal united effort to advance the object, to which it owes its interest, would make a sensible and memorable novelty among forms of commemoration.

her patrons of the reward they coveted, when we increase the number of sharers in the good which they devised ; and, understanding their spirit to be that of the sage who said, that, when he did a kind action to one man, he always meant it should be paid to another, for he ‘ loved to have benefits go round,’ we shall, as opportunity favors, enable young persons, who desire, and would do justice to, the advantages here, which we have enjoyed, to obtain them, by pecuniary assistance, if they need, and we can render it, or by information, counsel, facilities in their studies, or other requisite aid. It may be, that the interests of our college may require to be served in the public councils. If we have a place there, it is true that we shall be acting under obligations, higher than can be deduced from any relations our youth has borne, or favors it has experienced. But, in that sphere, we may well rejoice, that we can use the voice she formed to tell with freedom and affection all her desert, and to plead her cause, with a full heart and to good purpose, as often as we see that her interests and the public interests are the same. Like the Psalmist’s wishes for the home of his kindred, our friendly wishes will be breathed for her, in entreaties for a blessing to him who alone can bless. We shall pray for her peace ; that they may prosper that love her ; that peace may be within her walls, prosperity within her palaces. For our brethren and companions’ sakes we shall ask, that peace may be within her. Happy they, once more, who, rendering her the



best honor by signal services to the cause of truth, and righteousness, and God, and man, shall authorize her to say, with the proudest exultation of the maternal heart, 'behold my jewels.' Yes, my brethren; and happy every one of us, who, in an humbler sphere, by the consistent tenor of worthy lives, shall do credit to the rearing which she gave us.

If there is any truth in what has been said, I would submit, in a word, that it is not applicable alone to such, as have obtained from this college that general education of the mind, which is to serve for a basis for the further studies of preparation for professional pursuits; but also to those, her children by later adoption, who having chosen their walks in life, have then sought her aid, while they advanced towards them.\* They, too, have been domesticated in her family. They have been profited by, and become debtors to, her bounty. Her honor is their honor. Her prosperity must be their care; nor of them is it any more to be supposed, that having received from her what she had to bestow, they should ever go from her door that welcomed them, on their sordid way, and not cast back, while they tread it, a glance of thankfulness and good-will.

For those who are not to meet us again in these Sabbath services, the feeling which arises in the mind cannot fail to be a feeling of affectionate in-

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\* The number of professional students in the different faculties, in the academical year 1833-4, approached within one fifth to that of undergraduates.

terest. We hope that success and honors await them in the world ; and we hope that the world, into whose mass they are proceeding, is to find them ambitious of that truest honor and success, which are only to be found in usefulness. But we know that honor and success are not all which they are to look for. They are men ; and the common lot of men is to be theirs. We hope that when, hereafter, the bitter experiences of that changing lot shall come to any, they may find the christian spirit ‘ of power and of a sound mind,’ ‘ of wisdom and of the fear of the Lord,’ present to sustain them in their hour of trial, and ‘ the peace of God, which passeth all understanding,’ shining like warm sunlight on their hearts, when the cloud has passed away. May God Almighty, ‘ the God before whom their fathers walked,’ ‘ the God which hath fed them all their lives long unto this day,’ go with them on their untried way, keep, and direct, and bless them, and redeem them from all the evil that is in the world. A guiding pillar of fire to them in the glooms of life, may he be too a shading pillar of a cloud to allay the consuming blaze of their untempered prosperity. May he incline them to trace happiness to its untroubled fountain. May he teach them to sanctify and truly to enjoy his gifts, by devoting them to the one great aim of his glory and his children’s good. May they prove signal blessings to the friends who have so longed, and perhaps so struggled, to ‘see them coming forward to the honorable tasks of life. Young, may they pro-

foundly feel the high responsibilities of educated youth. Aged, may they reap the rich reward of well-spent years in the general esteem, and their own approving consciousness. May they be aided to contribute bright names to the catalogue of their country's worthies. May every name stand in golden characters on the Lamb's book of life. Long, and useful, and prosperous, if so it please God, be their earthly service ; honored, the place of their last rest ; that memory of the just which is blessed, the memory which they leave behind ; and the company of the just made perfect, the society where their ripe spirits shall find at last congenial and satisfying good.

(19)

# REVIEW

OF

PROFESSOR PALFREY'S SERMON,

ENTITLED

## "THE CLAIMS OF HARVARD COLLEGE UPON ITS SONS."

By John Gorham Palfrey

[From "The Christian Examiner" for September, 1834.]

THERE is good meaning, we apprehend, in the title of this sermon. Of course, whoever thinks that the diffusion of knowledge has something to do with social welfare, and that intellectual accomplishments make an element in the efficiency of public men, regards a place of education in the higher departments, which has tolerably well done its office, as having established a substantial claim on a whole community's good will. But to those who have enjoyed its discipline, such an institution makes an appeal, resting on other grounds. They stand directly indebted to it for personal services of the most important nature. It has put them in possession of valuable powers of action, and sources of enjoyment. It has introduced them to places, where, promoting on a large scale the well-being of others, they find themselves most effectually securing their own; or it has helped them to a selfish satisfaction in intellectual pleasures, which are well worth having, when there is no taste for what is better; or, at all events, it has given them added capacities for pushing their way in the world. And the sentiment of gratitude, so natural and well grounded, will scarcely fail of being excited to greater strength, by the force of associations in the mind, unavoidably attaching themselves to the scene of one's intellectual experience during the most impressible and imaginative years of life.

If any one imagines that Harvard College has not deserved well on an extensive scale, there is nothing better to do in his behalf, than to commend him to the study of the history of English North America. For more than fifty years from its establishment, that is, for nearly twenty years after the safety of the northern colonies was secured by the issue of Philip's war, it was the only seat of higher instruction on this side the water; and the only two other institutions of the

same class during the first century of the settlements, date from a period so nearly approaching to its close, that all the educated men, who had arrived at the most prominent stations within that eventful time, had either studied abroad, or were formed under the tuition of this college. How good that tuition was, might be inferred from the fact that youth were often sent from the parent country to enjoy it, if it were not better shown by the well ascertained competency of those, whom it had reared, to all duties expected of the wise and learned. So, with a like exception for the youth of Virginia and Carolina, who were sent to foreign schools, the educated men, of an age to take any considerable part in the revolutionary contest of argument or arms, were necessarily furnished by Harvard College, or by some one of two smaller institutions of the same character in New England, and four in the southern states; and, in fact, the former school was the mother of far the greater portion of this race, of which Otis, Warren, Quincy, and the Adamses, were only most distinguished specimens.

If any one thinks that, individually, he has carried nothing away from this college which he has occasion to think of with pleasure and gratitude, he will naturally wish to keep the opinion to himself, and will save us the pain of agreeing, and the trouble of disputing, with him. And those of us, who are sensible or vain enough to be of another mind, find much, of an accessory sort, to heighten the interest, which could not fail to attach in our thoughts to the scene of early study. If the English taste of our fathers for *locating* the great houses of religion and learning in a plain by a river's side, or if, otherwise, (which is a pretty old theory on the subject) the desire of securing for their learned youth "the orthodox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shephard" determined them to a spot which we might not have selected from the whole beautiful vicinity, yet it is one by no means destitute of natural attractions, and time and art have built up around it one of the most agreeable villages which the country has to show. "The scituation of this colledg is very pleasant," writes old Johnson in 1651, "at the end of a spacious plain, more like a bowling-green than a wilderness, neer a fair navigable river, environed with many neighbouring towns of note, the building thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness, and yet too mean in others' apprehensions for a colledg." The "fair naviga-

ble river" still "wanders along its silver-winding way," worth a dozen, as nature made it, of either Seine or Tiber, to say nothing of such lesser matters as the Isis or the Cam. The "spacious plain" is covered, in great part, with ornamental edifices and cultivated pleasure-grounds, enclosing a central area, which reveals them to each other's view, and is itself marked from a distance, by the towers of two churches, each, in its way, of uncommon symmetry and tastefulness. From its surrounding eminences (crowned with their old and stately growth of the native oak and elm), of which Mount Auburn is only the most lovely, you may look down, among other "neighbouring towns of note," on Brighton, Watertown, and Medford, each feasting the eye with its own delicious landscape; on the metropolis, close by, which those, who know no better, call, in one way of compliment, the cradle of American liberty, and, in another, the American Athens; on Lexington, where the first stand was made in the battle yet waging for human rights; on Charlestown, where in the bloody ashes of a sore defeat was read by penetrating eyes the auspicious presage of final victory. When we go among the solid structures, which time has brought into the place of that, "thought by some," in its day, "too gorgeous for a wilderness," we move everywhere in the midst of sublime phantoms of the past. Our college is older than Oxford, with its millenium of fame; for its history goes back to the earliest infancy of the society, of which it has been head and heart. There stands old Massachusetts Hall, that "fine and goodly house of brick," the gift of the Province in its first century of generous poverty; there is Holden, bearing on its pediment, in the broadest relief of painted plaster, the heraldic blazonry of its virgin givers, cotemporaries of Anne; Hollis, not quite so fresh, though for aught one can see, as firm, as when James Otis and his coadjutors reported to the General Court that they had "turned the key" upon the consummate work, and "the Governor and Council, with the lower House, met together in Holden Chapel," (how sadly inadequate such a space for such a convocation now!) to give the "very fair building, beautiful and commodious," its greatly honorable name; and Harvard, another gift, or rather payment of the good commonwealth, when its legislature, convened in the ancient library-room, sat by fires which doomed it to sudden ruin, with almost all its precious stores. Over the way is the enclosure which

the dust of Dunster hallows, and the fresh inscription over what was mortal of his successor, one of the great English scholars in the days when "there were giants," the friend of the blessed Usher, and exiled victim of the egregious Laud. A little further, in another direction, is the site of the humble meeting-house, where the ecclesiastical fathers of New England were convened to establish their Platform of Church Discipline; and, in another, are yet traced remains of the primitive fortification, which secured the hamlet, then intended for a metropolis, against surrounding savages. To come down to later times, if, from the spot lately occupied by a church, within which sat the convention that framed the constitution of 1780, we wend our way by an avenue, which the commissioners for laying out a western road reported that they had carried as far as Watertown, and "that was as far as ever would be needed," we shall presently pass the magnificent tree beneath which Washington issued his first order to an American army, and the mansion where his head-quarters were kept, while he was worrying out our British visitors from beneath the shelter of those three sister-eminenes,

"Whose ridgy backs heave to the sky,  
Piled deep and massy, close and high,  
Our own romantic town."

But we are not upon the composition of a guide-book; and it is possible there may be readers of ours with the heart to say, that such things have nothing to do with the point in hand. At all events, we shall be speaking to it, when we urge, that, at no previous time, has Harvard College, in respect to advantages which it holds out, deserved to be regarded by its sons with more pride and pleasure. The requisitions for admission having been constantly, though gradually, increased in passed years, the student brings preparation for a rapid proficiency during his term of residence. The studies in Livy, Horace, Cicero's philosophical works, and Juvenal, in Latin, and Xenophon, Homer, and some of the orators and tragedians, in Greek, with the exercises in the writing of these languages, and in antiquities, constitute, for our country, an extensive course of elementary classical discipline. Hebrew, among ancient languages, is added, to such extent as students may desire. Mathematical studies are pursued, before the end of the second year, to the extent of some good acquaintance with the differential and integral calculus;

and the three volumes of the Cambridge Natural Philosophy, the text-books which are next taken up, present what may be called a full outline of the branches in that department. Of modern languages, — for the College is any thing but bigotedly scholastic, — the French is taught to all, and permanent provision is made for the acquisition of four others by as many as wish to learn them, — a privilege which is largely sought, — besides the very attractive lectures of the Professor of Modern Literature. To a brief course in History and Grammar, succeeds one in Logic and Rhetoric, the text-books being the recent admirable treatises of the Archbishop of Dublin; works, especially the former, which subject the mind to a severe and salutary training. In Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Locke's Essay, which we rejoice to see lately restored in the place of Brown, Stewart's Elements, and Paley's Principles, are the manuals; in Theology, Butler's Analogy and Paley's Evidences; in Political Economy, Say's Treatise, which in a degree, like Paley on Morals, we apprehend must be allowed to be a work excellent for its clear statement of questions, however some of its principles and conclusions may be disowned; and in Constitutional Law, Judge Story's Abridgment of his Commentaries. In Natural History there are recitations from Dr. Ware's revised edition of Smellie's Philosophy, and in Chemistry from Dr. Webster's Manual. Exercises in English composition in different forms are continued from the beginning of the second year to the end of the course; and lectures in different branches are given to the Senior class, illustrated, in Natural Philosophy and Anatomy, by the rich apparatus in the halls of those departments, and the chemical laboratory; and, in Natural History, by the valuable collections in the mineralogical cabinet and the botanic garden.

Having no personal reasons whatever for either modesty or arrogance in this matter, we mean to make free to express our strong conviction, that the advantages for education offered at Cambridge are such, that whoever, having enjoyed them, does not go away a better scholar than any other American institution would have made him, has only his own incapacity to lament, or indolence to blame; in saying which, we are not at all implying any offensive comparison between the teachers there and at other similar institutions,



disparaging to the latter. Indeed, considering the obviously superior advantages of Cambridge in other respects, we could not say a word less than we do, without positively instituting a comparison to the prejudice of those who conduct its instruction. Further; with some opportunities for making observations to justify such a remark, we avow our persuasion, that the average scholarship created there year by year, is decidedly higher, — we speak with caution, — than that furnished from any other American college. We do not watch the methods of operation, but we look at the results. We are sometimes present at an examination in one or another department, and we commonly, on such occasions, go away with a high satisfaction in having made such use of our time. And, at the yearly exhibitions at the end of the course, — while we take care not to be so unreasonable as to expect young men to reason like old ones, — we witness, on the whole, a grasp and precision of thought, and a purity and force in composition, such as testify to a universal good training of the mind. We do not, to find what their colleges have done for them, compare men together when, a score of years after they have left these nurseries, they have come to make a figure in public stations. Various other influences have been operating on them then, to reverse the conditions of their early life. But we compare them in the years when the comparison may yet be made, and we submit, that, actually, the professional students, and the young professional men, from Harvard college, are found, on the whole, to think and write better, and to know more, than those on whom rests, in this respect, the reputation of any other of our great schools. We have not finished yet; for, rather than the fact should remain unasserted, we are willing to undertake the ungracious task of its assertion. To the best of our knowledge and belief, there is not in Europe, any more than in America, an institution which, year by year, sends forth a band of youth of like age, so well, or better fitted, in discipline and accomplishments, to do the intellectual work of the community to which it belongs. And this is the highest praise which could be bestowed. It is nothing to say that there are schools abroad, which teach more of Greek, or of mathematics, or of something else worth knowing. The sensible question is, Is there any one which can be shown to make better provision than does our own, for the intellectual wants of the society

which they are respectively to influence? If there be, it is one of which we have not heard.

But if this, or any considerable part of it, is true, how comes it that the number of students at Cambridge is exceeded any where else in the country, as it was exceeded last year in three other colleges? This is a problem, which, on our premises, we may be fairly called on to solve.

One solution is to be found in the very fact of the greater thoroughness of the course. The requisitions for admission being higher than elsewhere, more time and money are required to prepare for it. And this being so, that large proportion of young persons, who care not so much to have the best education, as to have a tolerably good one, which will introduce them speedily into a profession, are to be expected rather to turn their steps in some other direction. This impediment to the multiplication of students we hope never to see removed. We would not have abrupt and exorbitant advances made in the terms of admission. But we hope to see Cambridge always as much in advance of its sister seminaries, as we believe it now to be, in respect to opportunities of proficiency for such as desire to have the best. One distinguishing advantage which it possesses in its affluent endowments is, that it can better afford than they to dispense with the income, to be collected from a large number of students. And one obligation to the literature of the country, thus devolved on it, is, that it should make itself a kind of model institution, constantly raising the standard of scholarship, and leading the way in improvements, which other institutions, with the benefit of such countenance, will then be justified and excited in their own due time to adopt.

Another important point in this connexion is, the situation of Harvard College. Amherst is in the centre of New England, the most studious portion of the country, and especially in the centre of that district of New England, densely inhabited by its substantial yeomanry, which furnishes the largest proportion of the raw material for educated men. Union College is at the centre, — not geographical, but of population, — of the empire state, and within a two hours' ride of its seat of government. Yale College is in a town, which, besides being the capital of a state which is, for schoolmasters, the "*officina gentium*," is, by force of steam-boat

power, (well nigh accomplishing the modest request in the play, "Ye gods, annihilate both time and space,") made actually a suburb of New York, the great thoroughfare of America. Cambridge is out of the way, except to Maine and Rhode Island, which have their own respectable institutions, and to the sea-board of Massachusetts Bay. And how much this circumstance of vicinity is a recommendation to the large class, who wish to get into the professions on the easiest reputable terms, an inspection of any college catalogue will show. This is a circumstance which of course cannot be altered. And, for ourselves, being particularly concerned for this section of our country, we are perfectly well satisfied that it cannot. We are pleased with our good fortune in having, near our own doors, the advantages for education of our children, which, if elsewhere situated, we would still seek for them at any reasonable sacrifice.

Religious prejudices, no doubt, have had, and have their operation, in diminishing the number of students; though, unless we greatly err, these have been exaggerated in their supposed effect, and are sensibly subsiding. There are Unitarians in the administration of this college, as, with few exceptions, there are not in the administration of any other. And those who mean, that, if they can help it, there shall be no freedom of thought among the educated young, who will tolerate no college that will not be the engine of their sect, we are aware have left, and will leave, no method untried, to argue the minds of fathers, and distress those of mothers, into a resolution against this disposition of their sons. But we believe that such champions have done their worst. If falsehood, as Fisher Ames said, "will travel from Maine to Georgia, while truth is putting on his boots," truth, once well booted, makes firm and terrific strides after him. A slander generally gains, to some extent, immediate credence; but, after a certain time, sensible people take to asking about its evidence, and then its heavy retribution comes. Whoever is at the pains to scrutinize this,—and in good time those also, who will not be at much pains,—will have occasion to know, that the real difference between Harvard College and some other institutions is, that at the former, the student is left actually and absolutely unmolested in the enjoyment and profession of his religious opinions, whatever they may be;

in the latter, he is constantly subjected, — here more, there less, — to remonstrance, vexation, and contempt, if they are of an unpopular stamp. There are churches of the Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, and Orthodox Congregational denominations near the college, where all may worship, who, being of age, desire it, or, not of age, whose parents or guardians desire it for them. Roman Catholics have been freely allowed (and always will be, till sectarism gains triumphs there, which we do not anticipate,) to worship, not only on Sundays, but on other holy days of their communion, at their Boston Church. A Sandemanian has, with like deference to his conscientious views, been dispensed from all attendance on public services of the Sabbath, and allowed to pass the day with his friends, according to his and their views of edification. And a Jew, besides being held excused from presence at worship on the first day of the week, has had the seventh day equally at his disposal for his own religious uses. Nor is there any pretence that the full privilege of the legal provisions is restricted by intolerant practice of any other kind, on the part either of the governors or of the young men themselves. While apparent religious principle commands the respect of the latter, there is no such thing known among them, as any distinctive form of it being a ground of favoritism or of dislike. And when we say, that not the smallest reference is had to religious opinions, in adjudging college honors or benefactions, we shall provoke a smile from those who know any thing about it, so superfluous to them is the remark, and so notorious the fact; nay, so impossible do they see it to be, that it should be otherwise, in our state of society. We repeat our conviction, that too much importance has often been attached to this theological outcry, in reckoning the circumstances which have kept down the number of students at Cambridge. People who are able to choose the place where they may send their sons for an education, — as many of those are, who are at sufficient distance to be practised upon, — will, other things being equal, prefer, in the long run, to send them where they can get the best. If they respect their children's religious principles at all, or have been at pains to give them religious principles, — (and if not, they will have little solicitude on the question,) — they will have a confidence, that, at the age when young

men go to college, it is time they should be able to bear some exposure, even should that befall. And, in coming to so important a decision, they will be likely, if at all sagacious, to institute some inquiry, whether rumors which may have reached them are to be trusted; an inquiry, which, as we have said, can, under common advantages, only terminate in one way.

But, whether more or less importance be attached to this last consideration, and after all that we have admitted of the effect of the high requisitions for admittance, and of the remoteness of place, to prevent a rapid increase of the number of students, the great obstacle, we are persuaded, remains yet to be named. Besides that noble portion of its property, which is intended to "perish in the using," its buildings, library, and apparatus, Harvard College is, in lands and money, richer than any other in the Union. But it is also, we suppose, considerably the most expensive. The annual sum of seventy-five dollars must be contributed by each student towards its current charges. Eighty dollars more must be paid for board by those who use their option of living in the College commons, and fifteen by those who have a lodging within the College walls. And fuel is as dear as in Boston. So that, independently of personal expenses, which would be about the same in one place as another, a student lives in Cambridge at the cost of two hundred dollars a year. Here it is, that Harvard College labors. But for this barrier, the theological Cerberus would find himself turning so few passengers from its gate, that he would soon, himself, weary of his wearisome latrations. But for this, the ambitious youth of New England would be found disregarding, in greater numbers than now, the temptations of easier admission to other places of higher study, and of vicinity to their parents' homes. There is important fact in proof, if the reason of the case were not so evident. In the ten years following 1814, while the Commonwealth made its grants of two thousand five hundred dollars a year in favor of indigent students, the average number of the graduated classes was over sixty, while in the ten preceding years it was only forty-seven. And this too, under some very unfavorable circumstances of comparison. In the earlier period, other means of employment for youth were abridged by the political condition of the country, the sec-

tarian causes of alienation had scarcely begun to operate, and other colleges had not begun, to any great extent, to divide attention. The latter period, not to mention the great diminution of one class, under circumstances of internal discontent, was that when other colleges multiplied most rapidly, controversy was at the most unrebuked height of its savageness, and all the forms of reviving business were calling youth away from the Muse. Now, all which Harvard College does, to lighten to its students the regular charges, as we have stated them, is done with the gross annual amount of one thousand dollars, distributed in sums, of which the greatest is sixty dollars, and the least fifteen.

One thousand dollars in a year the sum total of appropriations to beneficiaries, who, as to the rest, are subject to all charges of the institution! Meanwhile the Education Society paid last year to eight other New England colleges, for the instruction of two hundred and ninety of its protégés, the sum of seventeen thousand seven hundred and sixteen dollars; giving to the two which show a longer roll than Harvard, four thousand seven hundred and fourteen dollars for seventy-six pupils, and three thousand five hundred and forty-six dollars for fifty-eight pupils respectively, the latter of these two seminaries, unless well-accredited report has misled us, numbering at the same time some scores of students, supported by a well known munificent individual among its friends. We greatly respect that institution. In all fit places, we are in the habit of cordially speaking its praise. But is not one most apparent cause of the difference between the size of its annual catalogue, and that of Harvard College, to be read in their respective legers?

Nor is Harvard College an expensive host, because an exorbitant one. To indigent students it gives all that it has to give; all, that either formally, or else (in its deliberate estimation) equitably and reasonably, is subject to such appropriation. Reasonably, we say; for, while much the greater portion of the property held by it, is held on terms, that is, on a contract, of some specific use, from which it cannot, either honestly or lawfully, be diverted, there is no doubt a balance, liable to be appropriated, from year to year, according to the best judgment of its governors. They may use this, if they see cause, to increase the advantages

of the institution, to hire more or better teachers, or buy more books, or more apparatus ; or they may apply it to a universal reduction of the tax for the enjoyment of advantages already possessed ; or they may give it to indigent students ; or they may do something of all three. But certainly they will not, for the support of a poor man's son, lay a tax on the son of a man in middling circumstances, — no, nor on a rich man's son, without any equivalent of benefit to him. And they will be most scrupulously cautious about doing, what virtually amounts to the same thing, providing for the third object we have just named, at the expense of the second.

The cause of the expensiveness of Harvard College is two-fold. It is eminently expensive, because of the eminent advantages which it furnishes, and because of what some might think the disadvantages, and we reckon the precious advantages, of the situation, where it furnishes them.

Of the ninety dollars which each student must annually pay, (that is, unless he chooses to have a deduction made of fifteen dollars for rent, and hire his room out of the walls,) twenty-seven are paid towards charges which we suppose cannot be materially lower any where ; though, if they are, they will come under the category, to which we are presently to proceed. Three dollars of them go to the Librarian's salary, and the remaining twenty-four to the support of the Steward's office, and the cleansing, heating, and repairing of the public rooms, to which every student, living in or out of college, is alike equitably bound to contribute. Fifteen dollars go to the rent and care of a lodging-room and study, which, however, he need not take nor pay for ; but if he hire a room elsewhere in Cambridge, it will cost him much dearer ; and if he can be lodged more cheaply, while he studies somewhere else than in Cambridge, he has certainly found a very economical place. The remaining forty-eight dollars go to defray the charge of instruction.

The instruction is dear, partly on account of the place, where it is given ; and this again directs us to a view, at which we have not yet arrived. Because the place, where the instructors are to live and teach, is an expensive one to live in, the salaries they live upon must be high. Actually high, in a comparative estimate, they are. No doubt the incumbents of the same offices might be supported at less

cost elsewhere. But proportionably high, we are equally sure that they are not. So far from it, that we are satisfied that the support afforded must before long become more liberal, or the offices will have to fall into less able hands than will be consistent with the best honor of the College, or the best satisfaction of its friends. The expense of a domestic establishment in Cambridge, even (as to tenements near the College) in the article of rent, which might be supposed to make an exception, is in all respects as great as in the neighbouring city; while scarcely a salary approaches, within a quarter, to those afforded by the richer denominations, in the city, to their ministers. But, passing this, the instruction is dear, chiefly because there is a great deal of it; and it is a very familiar principle and practice, that the more a man buys, the more he pays for. We hope that there will never be a fraction less; and considering how much there is, it is very far from costly. We observe that an accomplished young friend of ours has just issued proposals for a school for boys in this city, at the charge, not of forty-eight dollars a year for each pupil, but of fifty dollars a quarter. And he will have that school; and he will succeed in it; and we rejoice that he will do so. The parents will receive every farthing of their money's worth; and it is matter of mutual congratulation for our College and its Boston neighbours, that the former is able to give a learning to its sons, which the latter have the sense and spirit thus liberally to compensate them for the use of. And much as its students may be thought to pay towards the accumulation of such a stock in trade, they by no means pay for all that they receive. The instruction which they buy of the College for forty-eight dollars a year, costs the College one hundred and fifty dollars, the difference being provided for from its funds, the trust with it of public and private benefactors.

We said that we would not, for the greater cheapness' sake, have the existing advantages of instruction abridged. But, if any one should think differently, he is to be told, that a material abridgment, of this kind, is not within the option of the College. On the contrary, just in the proportion that it has grown richer of late years, it has actually been compelled to levy a heavier tax. This will be obvious, as soon as a single fact is considered. The benefactors of the College have been in the habit of giving a particular



direction to their bounty. Generally this has been, to found a Professorship in some department, which in the terms of the endowment they have required to have kept filled. In no case of a Professorship yet in operation,\* has there been given for this purpose a larger sum than twenty thousand dollars, while almost always it has been very much less. The annual income of this principal amounts to between one thousand and twelve hundred dollars. And, as no resident professor, on a foundation, receives a less salary than fifteen hundred dollars, the College is reduced to the alternative of either rejecting such gifts, or else, as an essential condition of their acceptance, assessing an additional tax of between three and five hundred dollars, at least, on its students, for the advantage of each new professorship which it secures. Could it, with any show of faithfulness to its trust, choose the former side of this alternative?

We said, again, that the College is expensive, because of its situation. Whether this be thought a subject of felicitation or complaint, it is a thing not now to be helped. To say nothing of the impossibility, or the inconvenience, of moving so much stone, and brick, and furniture, and the inexpediency, if it could be, of forfeiting, as an instrument of influence on the young mind, the benefit of associations which generations of glory attach to a place,—the College is, by constitution and law, a college in Cambridge. Ceasing to be in Cambridge, it ceases to be at all; and Cambridge, a place three miles distant from one of the most expensive capitals in the world, unavoidably partakes in its expensiveness. But, though this is enough for the justification of the College, we are not going to stop here; nor is the practical question, for those who are selecting a place of study, yet reached. We admit, most fully, that the vicinity to Boston is expensive. It increases the charge of living to the instructors, whom the student must help to maintain; and it increases his personal charges for diet and other things needful while he studies. And here we briefly remark, by the way, that the College interferes for him, to keep the charge from being nearly so onerous, as, on the principles of sale and purchase, it would naturally be. Besides paying from its

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\* We make this qualification with reference to the late large endowment in Natural History, by the venerable Dr. Fisher, of Beverly.

own treasury, two thirds of his tuition-fees, as has been explained, — if he chooses to board at its refectory, he pays the College but one dollar and ninety cents in a week, for what costs the College, all things included, two dollars and twenty-five cents ;\* and if he prefer to fare more delicately, still, the College, by this under-bidding, keeps down the price, which will be demanded of him at a private house ; and the same is the operation of the low rate, at which it rents its apartments, charging but twelve dollars a year for accommodations worth from twenty to forty. But, leaving this, we affirm, that while the vicinity to Boston is expensive to the student, it is worth to him all, and very much more than all, it costs him.

This worth is to be analysed into the influence exerted from the circumstance in question, on his moral habits, and the influence exerted on all the habits of his mind.

We have heard that, when the first bridge between Cambridge and Boston was projected; materially facilitating communication, and some friends of the College urged it to oppose the scheme, as hazardous to its objects, Judge Parsons, then a Fellow, assumed the opposite ground. If it was so, we venture the conjecture that it was for reasons such as we are about to present.

We say, that this vicinity to a city like Boston is worth what the student pays for it, partly because it is a circumstance so auspicious to his moral habits. If the general experience of our country does not deceive us, the vices take their most odious, ruinous, debasing, hopeless form in village dissipation. If all the experience of the world does not betray, remote academical villages, containing two castes in society, the one withdrawn from all domestic influences, overlooked by no public opinion which it regards, making a point of honor for itself, looking on the other but as furnishing instruments for its wickedness, are well-nigh the most painful objects to which a good mind can turn its view. What keeps Cambridge from being such an academical village? We answer, —after doing all justice to the good dispositions of its youth, and the good management of its governors, —that in great part what prevents this, is its

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\* Many of these statements are but repetitions of facts presented in Mr. Gray's Letter to Governor Lincoln, in 1831.

vicinity to Boston. Place the College, with all the money which it disburses, at thirty miles' distance from a great town, and directly, — unless all influences, observed commonly to operate in such institutions, were to cease to act, or unless opposite influences were applied with a hitherto unheard of power, unless youth should become immaculate, or tutors omniscient, — there would be collected about its walls all facilities and appliances of vice. Nothing short of martial discipline would keep them away; and with that even, as at West Point, they would not fail to wage a pertinacious war. Now, all means of vicious pleasure already existing at three miles' distance, as every great city provides them, no motive exists for bringing them nearer. To bring them nearer, would, under such competition, cost the purveyors more than it would come to. This seems a very simple speculation; and it is justified, as every body knows, who knows Cambridge, by the fact.

But, it will be objected, "The argument is, that means of vice being already near enough to be conveniently accessible, all motive for bringing them nearer is withdrawn. If, then, near enough already to be accessible, how is the naturally resulting evil checked?" We answer, it is checked mightily, in two or three ways. If, on an expedition to one's harm, instead of being absent from one's proper place long enough to find some neighbouring lane, it be necessary to be gone two or three hours, to travel an open, frequented road, and cross a bridge, the danger of detection is indefinitely increased, and with it the securities for good order, as far as this may demand to be maintained by vigilance and coercion. But, much further and better than this, students at Cambridge, — unless their dulness hinder the perception, — see themselves to be more or less under the oversight, and to be companions of others who are most strictly under the oversight, of a very enlightened, discerning, and moral neighbouring community, of a consequence and power which forbids them to be indifferent to its regard or censure. They see themselves the sons, or associates of sons, of those, who are near enough to turn a very watchful eye to the place of their studies; the objects of attention to men, whose esteem is well worth having, and who yield it on no easier terms than those of estimable conduct; the neighbours of a band of youth, who, in the coveted circles of society, take care to main-

tain, in their various walks, a high standard of character, and mean that whoever is ambitious to be their companion, shall respect that standard. They live in a good moral atmosphere. They must breathe it, or they must go away to find another.

These are some of the features of the moral condition of students at Cambridge ; and we bear them emphatic witness that we see happy fruits of their position. We do not pursue the train of thought. We have said enough to make ourselves understood ; and we ask attention to it. We proceed to a like hint on the literary influences of the same position ; and here again, having undertaken to present some grave points, we do not mean that they shall suffer injustice, through any bashfulness of ours in the statement.

When we look at the scholarship which Harvard College actually forms, after giving all credit to the good judgment with which its course of study is laid out, the talent and faithfulness of those who conduct it, and the various obvious advantages under which it is pursued, we are fain after all to acknowledge, that the machinery is inadequate to the product. We look for some further element of power, in bringing about the consummation witnessed. And we do not hesitate to say, that we find it in the circumstance of situation, of which we have been speaking. Those who do not know Boston, may need to be told, that a decidedly literary tone pervades its good society. We do not say, whether it contains great or little men, sciolists or scholars. Let that take care of itself ; we do not carry "this foolishness of boasting" any further than suits our purpose. But there is a love of learning. That its citizens love to read, either what is superficial, or else what is not so, or both, may be inferred from the large amount of its publications compared with those of any other American city, or from the single fact, that, exclusive of newspapers and of religious magazines, the amount of its periodical literature has been reckoned to be as great as that of all the rest of the country. At all events, there is a love of the fame of learning. Mothers, like Mather's mother, are ambitious to see a son "a good scholar," as well as a "good Christian." Fathers and sisters have an especial pride in the youth who has won that name. The stranger, who has won it at Cambridge, under the eye of this community, sees himself received, on that ground, on an honorable footing, in society

where he may well desire to move. He finds himself, wherever he may be introduced, to be, on that ground, the object of a flattering consideration. The youth, who comes here with his fortune to make, sees,—we do not scruple to say it,—that, that reputation won, his fortune will be made; at least, that he will have brought it effectually within the reach of his own further good conduct; for he will have been attracting the kindled eye of not a few, who stand emulously ready to advance him, by such honorable and effective aid as the risen may render to the rising. Is there not found stimulus in all this? And even for those, on whom, from their individual circumstances, some parts of it do not directly act, does not the raising of the standard of attainment, through such means, indirectly produce the same effect? And is there no permanent, inevitable impulse and discipline for the mind, in the literary cast of all surrounding social intercourse? And does not the presence of individual examples of literary success and note,—such as colleges and villages do not show in any numbers,—such as a city must show, or nothing,—does not this have its vast effect? We ask to have this view of the facts well weighed, by those by whom the facts are recognised; and we will be in the judgment of any discerning parent, whether the expensiveness of the place of study in question is not incident to advantages which it is no bad thrift to pay largely for, if they may not otherwise be had.

But, while we so highly appreciate these advantages, and cannot think the money ill spent that secures them, we earnestly wish that they were otherwise to be had, and most earnestly do we hope, before long, to see some resolute measures taken to this end. This end is what the College wants accomplished, to become what its living friends, and its patrons, if they may look down to see the progress of their blessed work, desire to see it,—an overflowing fountain of refreshing waters to our beloved native land. This it wants, to enable it to dispense its learned wealth with an unstinted bounty. This it wants, to help it to inscribe its name broadly and brightly as it should, on the history of the American mind. Give it this, and it will confidently leave, to those whom it invites, the question of further endeavours, which will remain for themselves to make, to accept its invitation. Give it this, and it will not defy,

but by the beauty of its usefulness, it will win and silence, the jealousies of sectarian bigotry. Who shall give it? Singly, some of its sons have done their part; and others, who owed it nothing, except what good men owe to good objects, have all along been bountifully doing theirs. Who shall make this provision for the College? Its own sons collectively, some have thought; and so proposes the author of the discourse before us.

"If God blesses us with wealth, I know not, among the public distributions we may have grace to devise, what more grateful object we can propose to ourselves, than to turn back to pour a filial tribute into our mother's lap, to be dispensed to her younger hopes, in ampler bounty than she could command the means to afford to us. And here I will even ask, in passing, since the subject leads to the inquiry, whether, while separately many of her children have 'done virtuously' in this way, it is not time that some more extended and united action of them together, should 'excel them all.' An eminent jurist of the last century called his liberal testamentary endowment, 'a poor thank-offering to God from his unworthy servant, for his many and great mercies to him in his education at that college';\* and the words, 'once a pupil, always a patron,' making part of the inscription, in which her gratitude recorded the merits of another distinguished magistrate, on the edifice, by the gift of which he had evinced his filial regard, have a truth and an interest for the many bosoms, in which the same sentiment is doubtless devoutly cherished." — p. 15, 16.

A subscription for Burlington College, among its sons and perhaps others, had, previously to the beginning of last July, raised for it twenty-six thousand dollars. Amherst College lately obtained, in the same way, between thirty and fifty thousand dollars; and Hanover, not long ago, about as much. Williamstown College has had its contribution of the same kind, and the Alumni of Yale have testified their love to their Alma Mater by the becoming gift of nearly one hundred thousand dollars. Berkshire and Hampshire counties are not richer than the sea-board. Vermont and New Hampshire can hardly spare more money than Massa-

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\* Chief Justice Dudley. "He honored and loved that his mother, and was wont to say of her, that he knew no better place to begin the forming of a good and worthy man." — Colman's *Sermon on the Death of the Hon. Joseph Dudley*.

chusetts. The sons of Yale College do not owe more, than those of Harvard, to the mother of their minds ; nor should we of Harvard be willing to have it proved, nor can it be yet proved, that they love her better. A very generous example has been set. Is there any reason to question, that, at the fit time, it is destined to be as generously followed ? We submit, whether a hint, in a note to the passage just quoted, respecting that fit time, is not well entitled to attention.

“ ‘The Court agreed to give £400 towards a schoale or Colledge, whearoff £200 to bee paid the next yeare, and £200 when the worke is finished, and the next Court to appoint wheare and w<sup>t</sup> building.’ ”

“ Such is part of the record of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, convened Sept. 25th (Oct. 6th, N. S.), 1636, and continued thence from day to day by adjournment. In little more than two years, then, the second century from the foundation of the College will be completed.

“ Is it fit, or not, that her nineteen hundred living sons should be thinking of doing honor to that event, by some joint expression of their gratitude ?

“ Their aggregate means are ample. The wants of the College, in two respects, those of accommodation for its invaluable library, and provision for indigent students, are great. To keep the anniversary by a liberal united effort to advance the object, to which it owes its interest, would make a sensible and memorable novelty among forms of commemoration.” — p. 16.

Truly, what an anniversary here would be ! The gathered gifts to a common mother of nineteen hundred sons, remitted from “all the borders of the country, and all the corners of the world,” — the north giving up, and the south not keeping back, — and consecrated at the goal of the second century of her history, in testimony of reverence for her services, of the gratitude of the givers, and of confiding hope that the coming ages would be terms of equal, and more, usefulness and honor. Whoever should see that day, would have some feelings to experience, worth the knowing. He would witness something which he could not forget, nor the world either.

As to the year 1636, here adopted as that of the foundation, we apprehend that it ought to be so regarded ; though the common reckoning we believe has fixed it in 1638, the

year when the College went into operation, the first class being graduated in 1642. The date of the legal act, establishing it, appears to us properly to fix the point of time; and it is so recognised in the preamble to the fifth chapter of the State Constitution, which recites, that, "Whereas our wise and pious ancestors, so early as the year *one thousand six hundred and thirty-six*, laid the *foundation* of Harvard College, in which University, many persons of great eminence, have, by the blessing of God, been initiated into those arts and sciences, which qualified them for public employments, both in church and state; and whereas the encouragement of arts and sciences, and all good literature, tends to the honor of God, the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this, and the other United States of America: it is declared," &c.

As to a contribution of the kind referred to, the nineteen hundred living graduates,—though there are some seventy or eighty earlier, and, among them, names of our eminently affluent and liberal citizens,—may be regarded as distributed through fifty classes, beginning with 1780, the more recent classes being still young. Of the earlier of these classes the surviving members are few, and those of the later have not fully entered upon life. To make up, from fifty classes, a like contribution for Harvard College, to what has been lately made for Yale, an average sum of two thousand dollars from each, would be requisite. There are others, who can better tell than we, whether the hope of obtaining such a sum would be extravagant.

Should a contribution, greater or less, ever come to be made, and should it be applied to the object of which we have been speaking, the lessening, to youth of limited means, of pecuniary discouragements from studying at Cambridge, such application would naturally take one, or the other, or both, of two forms. It might either go to diminish the charge for instruction for all the students indiscriminately, or, leaving this as it is, it might be directed, in larger single distributions, towards the maintenance of the more indigent of their number; or it might do a portion of both these kinds of good.

In the first case, it would probably have the immediate effect of bringing back that perhaps most desirable class of students, the sons of families in the middling rank in respect



to property, in town and country, who, we fear, were driven away in great numbers, by the change in the amount of tuition fees in or about 1807. They mean to pay, to the full extent, that others around them do, for whatever they have. This is what they have been used to doing. It is their habit; perhaps it is their point of honor;—no matter which. But they are obliged strictly to consult economy. And the difference of an annual expense of twenty or thirty dollars, which their fathers will have to spare from the profits of a farm or a shop, and pinch themselves to furnish, is, and ought to be, with such, a very serious consideration. It is, in fact, a consideration, decisive year by year, of the destination of numbers of youth, to whom the country owes, for its own sake, the best advantages of education it can afford;—of those, who, in moral and intellectual structure, are the bone and sinew of the commonwealth, and on all accounts, personal and public, entitled to its best training.

There is one obvious qualification of the advantage of this use of funds. Along with those to whom it is of the first importance, it would benefit others, who are in no need of it whatever;—the sons of the rich, who, instead of caring to pay less than they now do, would feel a considerable increase of their liabilities to be no burden. But, on the other hand, this equality of expenditure between the rich and those who are not rich, is indispensable; else the object of the latter, who intend, wherever they go, to pay all that their associates do, is defeated. And again; as it is to be supposed for a general rule, that the richer givers to such a fund would be also the most bountiful, it would not be reasonable to expect them to repeat their contribution, in the payment of larger charges on their children's term-bills.

To an appropriation of funds, of the second description named above, we have occasionally heard objections made, to which we do not think it liable. We cannot say how common the sentiment is, but we know that it exists, that the more indigent class of students at college have not generally, by the merit and services of later life, shown themselves particularly well entitled to the aid afforded them in acquiring an education. We are not of that opinion. It is impossible to arrive at exact results in the weighing of that question. It covers too much ground, and it is too delicate. But, from such rough estimate, as

we are able to make, of what has fallen under our own notice, we are inclined to think, that that class of students,—not to speak of the individual instances of its furnishing leading lights,—has, on the whole, done its fair share of service to the great interests of society. And, if it were otherwise, we should by no means hold the question of the fitness of such patronage to be settled. The experience of a few years or decades cannot settle it; and certainly there is nothing in the reason of the case, to prove that the supposed actual result is to be looked for. Nor, if the result were both probable and realized, would we allow that the assumed practical inference follows. Independently of all such considerations, we should still desire,—and that on grounds, we think, of patriotism and good sense,—to have the poorest man feel, that his son, if disposed to use them, had the best advantages of education within his reach, and, with those advantages, the privilege of the most favorable experiment to lift himself to the highest places in society. We should still earnestly desire to have the poorest men know and feel, that opportunities for obtaining the best learning were no aristocratic possession, and that they had none but themselves to reckon with, if the best learning should become characteristically an aristocratic accomplishment.

We know, again, that there is in some minds, an indisposition to this form of bounty, on account of an impression, that there is something humbling in becoming its object. They think, that to receive it, argues, or forms, something of an abject spirit, or does both. We cannot but hold, that this view is taken in utter blindness to the conditions, under which Providence has made us men to live on earth. He who demands to be independent, must go seek quarters in some other planet. Providence meant that all men should find their own happiness in communicating it to others; and, if all are to confer favors, it can hardly be that all will not have to receive them. It meant that there should be such a happy sentiment as gratitude; and, as none were to be excluded from its enjoyment, so none were allowed to be above being served. Every human being is a debtor to men before and about him;—a stipendiary to the past and to the present. When so much of what we most value, and are every moment enjoying,—the protection of good laws, the spirit of society, the guidance of transmitted wisdom,—

is necessarily the free gift to us of the fruit of costly labors, which cannot be estimated in money, — and, if they could, which we have no money to pay for, — it clearly appears to us more nice than wise, to be lofty about receiving the smaller balance of kindnesses, which it still remains optional with us to reject. And while a man is making his superlative distinctions between what he can, and what he cannot, help receiving gratuitously from others, he will only be experiencing the multiform mortifications of that most mortifying passion, pride, till he is taught sense enough to be willing to have his impracticable principle break down under the distraction. He who is difficult about being a “charity scholar,” if such is the phrase, at Cambridge, — if he will carry out his doctrine, must be disturbed and shame-faced, when he goes thence, and comes to deposit his vote, or vent his voice, in that eleemosynary establishment, Faneuil Hall. For he is there a charity voter, and a charity orator. If Faneuil had not given the Hall, the town would now have to build it, and the citizen and speaker would be taxed to pay the bill. At all events, Harvard College admits none but charity scholars. Some rich men’s sons are studying there ; but not one of them all pays his scot and lot. As truly as any of their associates, they are objects of the College’s bounty. It is simply a question between them of more and less. We take it that not a word of the statement to this effect, on the fifth page of the sermon before us, can be called in question ; and, if so, he who is a beneficiary to the annual amount of one hundred and fifty dollars, while at his right or left hand sits another who gets but one hundred dollars, may be made by fifty per cent. a more abject-spirited man than his neighbour, may be depressed half as much again in his own esteem, but a most humiliating process for all the ingenuous youth, without exception, must doubtless be our college life.

Both of these methods, then, of relieving the expensiveness of an education at Cambridge, seem to have their recommendations ; and it is not improbable that, on a full view of the subject, it might be thought wise to direct endeavours towards a partial attainment of both, rather than an exclusive one of either. In the case of any thing considerable of the kind being done, it may be supposed that the government of the College would feel more at liberty to direct any

funds, come or coming into their hands, and subject to their direction, to the provision of safe and proper accommodation for its library. That is a thing which it is high time were done, to whomsoever it may belong to do it. The destruction of that library would be an intolerable stigma on the name of the government, or the alumni, or the neighbourhood, or the State, or the country, or whomsoever else the stern justice of posterity might select to bear the blame. We state familiar facts, when we repeat, that being considerably the richest in the western hemisphere, it consists of forty thousand volumes, many of which are rare, important, and costly; that it contains a collection, — undoubtedly the most precious in the world in the department of American History, — of six or seven thousand volumes, and thirteen thousand maps and charts, bought, partly, against the competition of a king, by one of those “merchants” of ours, who are “princes,” and partly furnished by the munificence of a son of another of those “traffickers,” who are “the honorable of the earth”; that it is necessarily disposed in rooms, whose narrow dimensions absolutely forbid its further extension, a measure for which other liberal citizens are understood to be standing ready, so justly popular is the object; — and that it is within six feet of a building, where in the winter are constantly kept thirty fires under the care of youth, whose engagements, besides, cause them to be absent three times every day, for an hour together. The risk is appalling. We cannot sleep on a windy night when we think of it. The burning of the comparatively small, and on all accounts incomparably meaner collection, seventy years ago, threw the province into a sort of universal mourning. A “ruinous loss” the papers of the time well called it. The governor, on the second following morning, sent a message to the Representatives to “heartily condole with” them “on the unfortunate accident”; and America and Britain were moved to repair the mischief. May this generation not be doomed to see on that spot such another heap of priceless ruins! But if the horror do not befall, it is not wishing, that will have averted it.

The President says, in his “Considerations,” submitted to the Legislature the winter before last; “Let the Legislature of Massachusetts only grant sufficient means for such a building as the case requires, and it is not too much to

say, nor to pledge, that this library, instead of containing forty thousand volumes, shall, within ten years, contain sixty thousand volumes. Dispositions to that effect have been intimated by men capable of carrying them into execution." He says, again ; " It has been ascertained that the books now actually constituting the library, would require thirty alcoves of the same height and extent (viz. with the twenty, which now occupy the whole space,) properly and safely to preserve them." We wish to suggest, in addition to this object of safe preservation, the importance of that of convenient use. Great libraries are not more, perhaps not so much, depositaries of books to be borrowed from them, as of books to be consulted within them. But to consult books in Harvard College library, is now all but out of the question. There is hardly so much as room to pass conveniently between the book shelves and other indispensable furniture. Every book should be brought, by means of galleries, within convenient reach. A moderate temperature should be kept up throughout the room ; and the alcoves, furnished with tables and with stationery, should present accommodations and a degree of retirement, for reading and writing. We have occasion, from time to time, to visit that library, but we certainly do not go thither one time in ten times, that we should, if the apartments were more tenantable. For ourselves, we use no exaggeration in saying, that the day that arrangements were made for Harvard College library, only similar to those existing for that of the Boston Athenæum, that day it would rise tenfold in value to us. And that which is the case with us, may not improbably be, more or less, the case with others.

It is not for us to predict what the Commonwealth will do in the premises ; though we think we can guess what its enlightened people would do, if left to themselves. They make it no sectarian question ; and the petitions of the several faculties of the Episcopal, Baptist, and Orthodox Congregational schools of theology, were cordially presented to second the application of the College. And we think we can conjecture what their intelligent representatives, following the generous lead of the upper house, would do, if released from side-way influences, and unbiassed by regard to considerations of supposed practical connexion of this subject with others, which, in their own nature, are as remote from it as possible. Were we legislators, we should plead for this provision for the Col-

lege, not on the ground of the College's wants, nor of its deserts, but on the ground of what the Commonwealth owes to its own dignity, and growth, and greatness. We would say, whatever influence you are to have in the councils and over the destiny of this nation, you are to owe, not to the extent of your territory, nor to your numbers, nor to your money, but to the mastery of your minds. Look to the fair intellectual fame of Massachusetts. See to it, that there be always clear, and well trained, and well stored understandings, to discern her rights, and interests, and honor, and, seeing, to maintain and to advance them. Take care to make her, in the way to which plain indications of Providence invite, "a name and a praise" in the wide earth. Take good heed, that, through your slowness, *the republic receive no detriment*. The sons of the College are able to take care of your interest within her walls, and they will do it, when they shall know that you have abandoned it. But you have only to speak the word, and the work is done. And if, while you are hesitating, the brightest jewel in her crown is reft, look to your reckoning with posterity, when it shall bitterly say, how untrue it has found you to its claims and interests, while the past had never been wanting to yours.\*

We have only further, before leaving this point, to turn the tables upon a former remark, and say, that if, in a despair, — which certainly we could not undertake to justify, — of provision from the public chest for this pressing want of a library building, the sons of the College were to resolve them-

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\* "Think not, that the commonwealth of learning may languish, and yet our civil and ecclesiastical state be maintained in good plight and condition. The wisdom and foresight, and care for future times, of our first leaders, was in nothing more conspicuous and admirable, than in the planting of that nursery, and New England is enjoying the sweet fruit of it. It becomes all our faithful and worthy patriots that tread in their steps, to water what they have planted." — *President Oakes's Election Sermon*, 1678.

"Behold an American University, which hath been to these plantations, as Livy saith of Greece, for the good literature there cultivated, *Sal Gentium*; an University, which may make her boast unto the circumjacent regions, like that of the orator on the behalf of the English Cambridge; 'Fecimus (absit verbo invidia, cui abest falsitas) ne in demagogiis lapis sederet super lapidem, ne deessent in templis theologi, in foris jurisperiti, in oppidis medici; rem publicam, ecclesiam, senatum, exercitum, viris doctis replevimus, eoque melius bono publico inservire comparatis, quò magis eruditi fuerint.'"*—Magnalia*, IV. p. 128.

selves to make that provision, it would seem reasonable to expect that the government, being just so far relieved from occasion for the use of unappropriated funds, would be able to devote them, to the same, or to some extent, to a reduction of the charge for teaching.

We suppose we should not be excused, if, having in another aspect brought the College thus largely to the view of our readers, we should shrink from adverting to notorious circumstances of its recent position before the public. We would gladly be excused from this reference, if we might. In the existing posture of things, we have perhaps a different view of its expediency, in the abstract, from those irresponsible and uninformed persons, who have not scrupled to discuss very delicate questions touching the feelings of parents, the prospects of sons, and the honor of a most venerable and meritorious institution.\* We shall not follow them in that discussion. The case of the government is not yet before the public. Very probably it will be, before long, by means of a report to the Overseers, or otherwise; and then, if occasion be, we, perchance, shall be found as ready as others to enter into its merits. What we care to say here, and what is here to our purpose to say, is, that we have no belief that any thing has occurred, which ought, or will, withdraw pub-

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\* The wantonness of the periodical press has perhaps rarely been more strikingly manifested, than in the course of this business. We have taken no pains to remember the instances, but one happens to be before us. One of the Boston prints, late in June, or early in July, had announced that "all the Senior class of Harvard College, who acknowledged having approved of the circular, had been dismissed, and that there would be no Commencement." Not a word of this was true. The Faculty were holding meetings; but, as was fit under such circumstances, they kept their own counsel, to that degree that their own neighbours could not form so much as a probable conjecture, how things were going on. When their decision, some two or three weeks after, became known, it proved to be a dismissal, not of the whole class, but of a small portion of it. And that there will be no Commencement, is an assertion which could not be safely made, as late as the time when we are writing, towards the middle of August.

Now fair men very often make mistakes; and they have a very simple way of procedure, when they discover that they have done so. They say that they had been misinformed, adding, or not adding, an expression of their regret for any mischief which may have been so occasioned. But what said this editor, when better information speedily reached him? Referring to his previous insertion, he said, "We were rightly informed *in part only*. Up to this morning, sentence had not been pronounced, *but it was expected momentarily*."

lic confidence from the institution. A pretty strong proof to the contrary is already furnished, by the fact, that, at the end of the last term, in which the discontents occurred, so great a number of students was offered for admission into the Freshman class, that, if a like proportion as in past years should be kept up at the examination in Commencement week, — and we know no reason why this should not be expected, — a larger class will be formed than has ever entered.

We are not, then, going to discuss the character of the police laws of the College, or of their administration in any instance. They who conduct the latter are known, and the former are on record, and are always on the trial of experience. Both are subject to a control, — by a large foreign body, that of the Board of Overseers, — which the wisdom of the Commonwealth has judged to be sufficient; and when the College authority, in the several departments, has entertained an important question, the public does not commonly have to wait long, to be acquainted, in detail, with facts and reasons. But it is to our point, to express the confident opinion, that any possible disadvantage, greater or less, to which the College may seem exposed, by occurrences like those of recent date, is not to be often or long incurred through their repetition. We believe it impossible that the evil, whatever it be, of such combined resistance to authority, should be permanent, because of our persuasion that it stands upon bases altogether insufficient to sustain it. We are satisfied, that its grounds only need to be looked at with that careful attention, which interesting consequences like those lately witnessed will secure for them, to melt away beneath the view. And, apart from this, we know the young gentlemen to be such good reasoners, that the strength or frailty of principles, on which they may have acted, will not eventually remain concealed from their perception.

One of the grounds, on which combined resistance to authority in such an institution appears to proceed, is a vague idea, that, in the relation implied in its laws, the governors constitute one party, and the students for the time being, the other; so that, if there be supposed fault to find in such laws or their execution, the latter, being the sole party in interest, are the party to find it, and to insist, if need be, on a remedy. Now the students for the time being are not the other



party in that relation, but a very small portion of it ; a portion so small, as to be, numerically, — almost insignificant, we would say, if the word did not seem to imply disrespect, a thing which, above all others, we mean to be careful to avoid. No doubt they are so situated, in some respects, as to have advantages, other things being equal, for an exact acquaintance with the operation of the laws, and peculiarly to feel the present pressure, if the laws work ill. But they do not make up the party, for whose improvement and satisfaction the laws are ordained and administered ; no, nor are they so much as the legal, nor so much as the rightful, nor so much as the apparent representatives of that party. The laws are made for the benefit of all the *educable* youth of the country, alike of those who may come, as of those who have come under them, — a number, of which that of the resident students at any given time is but a fraction ; and they are made for the good and use of others yet, of the friends of those youth, and of the literary community at large, and of the body politic. It is not then for A, B, and C, whose names this year are on the College catalogue, to understand a supposed mal-administration as a summons to themselves to put lance in rest. They “take too much upon them,” those “sons of Levi.” Before they can modestly assume that championship, they must get authority from the youth of the country, with names beginning with all the letters of the alphabet ; and this done, they must get authority from the many others, who have a stake in the issue as well as they, and who, when they should be consulted, might, or might not, be found to hold different views, and decline their interposition.

What then is a person, so situated, to do, when he feels himself aggrieved, and they, with whom lies the discretion, will not right him ? Is he to submit to be oppressed ? There is not a question easier to be answered. He is not to submit to oppression. He is to go away, out of oppression’s reach. He has his own discretion in this matter, and one amply sufficient for his own protection. The College does not want to keep him to oppress, after a difference of opinion unhappily arises, if he is not inclined to stay. Unless he be chargeable with one of the higher offences, excluding him, by academic courtesy, from reception elsewhere, — a case which stands on its own grounds, and is very different from what we are now supposing, — the arm of College authority

cannot touch him, an hour after he wills that it shall cease to do so. There is his remedy. If there be mal-administration, it follows not at all that the coercive correction is for him. He is concerned for it, true, and so are very many others. He, like others, under the obligations and with the advantages of the place which he fills, may use his influence and information to have it corrected in a legal way. But that correction is no more entrusted, either in law or in common sense, to him and his two hundred and fifty associates, than to any other two hundred and fifty citizens of the Commonwealth, between the ages of sixteen and twenty. When effected, it is to be through the action of a body, which the constitution and laws recognise as the true representatives of the whole party actually concerned, the representatives of the interest of students in Cambridge and out of it, and of their friends, and of the friends of the College, of learning, and of good order.

Another impression, which seems to be implied in recent college movements, is, that the relation of classmate, or college-mate, imposes an obligation to make common cause ; so that a man is concerned in honor to bring himself into trouble, by illegal measures, when legal do not avail, either to obtain redress for his associate who has in his judgment suffered wrong, or, failing of this, to express his indignation at the injustice. We speak under correction, when we say, that we suppose this to be, at Cambridge, a modern refinement. In old times, as far as we remember, general movements were occasioned by some sense of general grievance. So it was in the great commotion of 1768. So it was in that of 1807. Nor can we, — though it may, we grant, be through defect of memory or knowledge, — recall an instance, earlier than within a score of years, in which resentment of supposed individual hardship led to a considerable combination in illegal acts. But, new or old, this principle of action, we have no idea is going to stand for ever, inasmuch as it stands on no tolerable grounds. If I take my seat in a stage-coach with a stranger, I presently perceive that we have one point of sympathy together, in the journey on which both are bound. If I have common benevolence, I intend that his journey shall be a pleasant one, as far as depends on me ; and little civilities begin forthwith to pass between us. If he prove to be an intelligent and well-disposed person, I am of course

pleased with the opportunity of such a familiar and uncere-  
monious enjoyment of his society. And after we have parted,  
should we ever meet again, I shall be gratified in recalling  
with him the agreeable circumstances of our accidental  
interview, and renewing the satisfactory communications  
which had occurred. If I have had such a companion in a  
long voyage, all relations of this description will have been  
multiplied, and all interest heightened that grows out of them.  
But, certainly, I cannot think of giving to every person with  
whom I may have chanced to whirl in an omnibus, or to pace  
a quarter-deck, such a control over my agency and standing,  
that his honor is to be my honor; his quarrel, my quarrel;  
his discredit or loss, a thing that he must be relieved from, or  
else share it with me. If he gets into trouble, I shall wish  
him, and do what I can to bring him, out of it. So much is  
due to charity. If I think he suffers wrong, I shall remon-  
strate and otherwise interest myself with the wrong-doer for  
his indemnification, in such manner as my relation to the lat-  
ter may make fit. So much is due to justice. If the case  
seems to me flagrant, I shall be willing to put myself to  
much expense and inconvenience to have him righted. But  
it can hardly be so flagrant, that I shall find it my duty to  
acknowledge claims (on the ground of any accidental fellow-  
ship, independent of the claims of humanity,) which shall in-  
volve disappointment and distress to other friends, to whom I  
am attached in obligations of the earliest date and of the  
closest intimacy; and it absolutely cannot be so flagrant, that  
I shall be willing to disregard such obligations as the latter,  
when the disregard of them can be attended with no benefit  
to him whom I would serve. Certainly I shall not, because a  
man is my fellow-traveller, allow that he has a right to expect  
me to take counsel in his behalf, on all occasions, of my feel-  
ings, which may be hasty, and of my first judgment, which  
may be dull. If he looks to me for good offices on the  
common grounds of justice and generosity, as they bear on  
the relations between man and man, these I understand, and  
there is no danger of their creating interference with any of  
my duties; but if on the ground of a particular relation,  
then there are other relations, which I ought to consider  
much more; relations, which will righteously call upon me,  
as soon as there is conflict, or danger of conflict, to give them  
practical precedence.

Now a college, as far as the question before us is concerned, is a public conveyance, carrying its burden four years forward from childhood into life. Nor is it only, nor mainly, the length of the opportunity afforded by it, to those whom it conveys, to mature a mutual interest, which causes it to give a peculiar relish to the feeling thus inspired. The intercourse, for which it affords occasion, is connected with common occupation in engaging studies, and with the rapid, and happy, and intense experience of youth. The college journey, in a word, is a journey towards fairy-land, over a region attractive enough to deserve to lie in such a line of way ; a journey made by a party in high spirits, of quick perceptions, full of wit, of unoccupied hearts, of like age, and with many other points of sympathy. And no wonder, that the travellers should find it pleasant, and from the very beginning feel very kindly towards one another. But after all that can be said on that side, still we cannot get so far as to say on the other, that a man is to feel himself bound, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, for well-behaved or roguish, to whosoever, unseen by him till then, has happened to vault or blunder into college on the same Midsummer day with himself. We cannot find so much as a goodly seeming pedestal of moon-shine to uphold the fancy, that an obligation created by that accident, — an accident, it may well be, and often is, which neither of the parties particularly rejoices in, — is to supersede obligations which devoted years of a mother's love have been establishing, and anxious years of a father's sturdy toil. We submit, that that notion will not stand the looking at. It trembles and sways under a beam of light, like a balanced needle in an exhausted receiver. It is soon going to be in the limbo of "things lost on earth." At all events, it will not do for our "climate and manners." It is quite too sublimated ; too exquisite ; too German, we would say, but that national reflections are illiberal ; at least, too German after the manner of Professor Pottingen's daughter in Canning's play in the Antijacobin, who accosts another fair traveller, whom she encounters in the common room of an inn, with the proposal ; "A sudden thought strikes me ; let us swear eternal friendship." — And then to go on, and in this summary offensive and defensive alliance, do battle, as soon as the uncertain trumpet sounds, at the hazard of much that is interesting to one's hopes, and important in

the view of one's good sense, — why, this does seem to us a most incoherent centaur-composition of excessive amenity and exaggerated manliness. It is Captain Mac Turk grouped with Damon and Pythias. Rather, it is the bravery of that worthy, engrafted on the devotion of Araminta Vavasour, and her gentle boarding-school friend ;

“ We walked hand in hand to the road, love,  
We looked arm in arm to the sky ;  
And I said, when a foreign postillion  
Shall hurry me off to the Po,  
Don't forget your Medora Trevilian,” &c.

We do not mean to leave any body at liberty here to misapprehend us. We are not of those, if any such there be, who think lightly of the interest of the relation of class-mate at college. Perchance we know about its interest, as well as younger men. Perchance we have had, in our day, as much of the good of that relation as others, and have as much reason as others to know the worth of permanent friendships, there formed and nurtured. But we hope we never saw the time, when we looked upon it as the great dispensing relation of life ; if we ever did, that time is so distant, though we are not octogenarians, as to have quite faded from our memory? And in these few words we have not designedly said one, to wound the feelings of any, who have been implicated in recent transactions. Quite a different sentiment from any which would dictate this, is excited in every observer of tolerable rectitude of mind and heart. Those youth are our sons, or sons of our kindred, neighbours, and friends. They are bone of the community's best bone, and flesh of its dearest flesh. We love every man and boy of them. We could not spare so much as one from the good public service, which we hope they are destined to render. We would trust them to-morrow with any thing, in which uprightness of mind and heart was alone concerned ; and with many things which called for clear judgment, provided the case was one, in which that college idiopathy, we have been commenting on, was out of the way. There is sense and excellence among them, which ensures that their errors, if they err, shall be viewed much more “ in sorrow than in anger.” We do not expect Alcibiades to have Socrates' grey hairs, though as often as he harms him-

self, he makes us wish that he had, for his protection, more of the philosophy he is studying. Indeed, they must be much more than commonly wise men, if, at twice their present age, they never make great mistakes. And they must be very much more than commonly good ones, if their mistakes have never a worse source, than an ill-defined and exaggerated feeling of honor. And they must be very much more than commonly fortunate ones, if they are always told of their mistakes as good-naturedly, as we have desired to comment on what we account such now.

For our glorious Alma Mater, we admit not a thought of apprehension. It is not by so light a touch, that her age-gathered honors are to be brushed away. Hers is a proud and solemn mien, ready to frown, — but that it is too calm and Jove-like, — on any thing like fear; — a radiant presence, that shines away every shade of gloom. We have no doubt how her destiny is written. We wait in cheerful trust till it be fully read. It is, in Milton's words, to "lead and draw" her sons "in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning, and the admiration of virtue; stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages."

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